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STANDARD WORKS

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VOLUME III.

THE APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

AND

A TREATISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES;

BY BISHOP JEWELL. (John)

bp. of Salisbury.

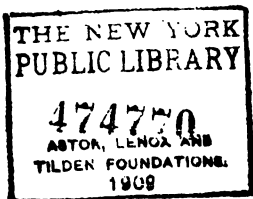
WITH A PREFACE, BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR, AND NOTES.

BY W. R. WHITTINGHAM, A. M.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

A GLANCE at the contents of this volume will in some measure explain its extraordinary delay. Instead of a mere republication, it has almost assumed the character of an original and laborious work. The notes will be found to amount to nearly two-thirds of the matter in the volume, exclusive of the Preface and Memoir.

‘But why overlay the subject with such a mass of comment?’ The Preface, and the contents of the notes themselves, must furnish the answer to this query. The Editor is *self*-justified by the belief that his labours tend to enhance both the usefulness and the interest of the works republished.

In addition to the labour of preparing the notes, that of *transcribing* every syllable of the text was to be incurred, as no copy that might be destroyed for the printer’s use could be procured.

These circumstances, it is hoped, will be considered an excuse for an unexpected, and otherwise unwarrantable postponement of the appearance of the volume.

But the Editor is prepared to make further drafts upon the forbearance of subscribers to the work.

The *Fourth Volume* will not immediately succeed the present. The importance of its announced contents requires more deliberation, care, and accuracy, than such an arrangement would allow. It is as much the interest of the subscribers as of the Editor (and may he not add as much the interest of the Church as of either?) that *that* volume should be rendered as free from error and as complete in itself, as the utmost

caution and the most deliberate procedure can make it. It shall be so.

The Fifth Volume will contain the famous *Pastoral Letters* of BISHOP GIBSON, and BISHOP HORNE'S deservedly popular *Letters on Infidelity*; with Memoirs of those writers, a Preface, and an Index.

The *Sixth Volume* will consist of Dean SHERLOCK'S *Discourse on Judgment*, one of the best known and most generally admired theological treatises in our language.

THE FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH VOLUMES, will go to press almost simultaneously, and may all be expected within four or five months.

A word relative to the CONDITIONS of the work.

Want of reflection has in some instances produced murmurs at the small size of the Second Volume—supposed to be less than was stipulated in the Prospectus. Whoever may take the trouble to count, will ascertain that the first two volumes contain 616 pages—or 16 more than the number promised.

The present volume, beside the additional number of pages (to compensate which the Fourth Volume may be expected to be proportionably less) contains at least *one-third* more printed matter than subscribers had any right either to demand or to expect, owing to the quantity of small type in the notes.

Several applications have been made for *single volumes* of the series. Justice to the subscribers dictates the course (which will be *inviolably observed*) of refusing any departure from the original terms.

PREFACE.

FEW works possess stronger claims to regard than that which is now for the first time introduced to the American public. Apart from its intrinsic merits, it comes down to us from the golden age of the reformation, with the stamp of national sanction at the time of its publication, and recommended by the undivided suffrages of the learned and pious of every intervening age. It is the production of an individual, it is true ; but that individual confessedly pre-eminent for learning and eloquence in a learned age, and expressing, with mature deliberation, the avowed sense of all his brethren, under their revision, and with their unqualified approbation.* It may, therefore, justly pretend to all the consideration due to the combined wisdom, learning, and piety of the Church of England in one of its brightest periods—the age of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer,

The *Apology of the Church of England* bears nearly the same relation to that Church, that is possessed, with regard to the Lutheran Church of Germany, by its *Symbolical Books*. Like the latter, the *Apology* is a statement of doctrine and discipline put forth for the purpose of refuting the calumnious misrepresentations

* "The *first*, and indeed the *much best* writer of Queen Elizabeth's time, was Bishop Jewell : the lasting honour—of the age in which he lived ; who had so great a share in all that was then, particularly in compiling the second book of Homilies, that I had great reason to look on his works as a *very sure Commentary on our Articles*, as far as they led me," BURNET *on the Articles*. Preface, p. vii, viii. ed. Lond. 1819.

of the Romish Church. Like them, it is an explanation and defence of the avowed principles of the Communion of which it bears the name. Like them, it was formerly acknowledged as such by the whole body of that Communion. Like them, it was an object of bitter hostility to the enemies of reformation, and of warm defence by its supporters; serving as a rallying point to those whose faith it embodied forth, and a centre of union against the combined efforts of the adversaries of that faith. It is to the honour of the Church of England that the comparison does not hold good throughout, and that subscription to the *Apology* has never, like that to the *Symbolical Books* in Germany, been imposed upon her clergy as a condition of admission to their sacred office—notwithstanding that efforts for that purpose have been made.

A person familiar with the publications, correspondence, and sermons of the first three years of the reign of Elizabeth, will readily perceive that JEWELL, when writing the *Apology*, considered himself as merely the amanuensis of his brethren, and freely employed their arguments and statements. Several productions of the years 1558 and 1559 furnish portions of its argument; in two, particularly, (the articles agreed on by the leading friends of reformation immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, and a sermon preached by JEWELL himself at Paul's Cross, in 1559 or 1560^b) the whole train of thought is developed; briefly and hastily, indeed, yet sufficiently at length to make it evident that they contain the first outlines of the larger work.—

^b *Works*, folio ed. p. 202, ss.—GILPIN, in his *Life of Cranmer*, p. 195 (quoted by Mr. ISAACSON) says, I know not on what grounds, that "Bishop Jewell laid the plan of the *Apology* at Strasburgh, though he did not finish it till happier times." This statement, if correct, would perfectly explain the remarkable coincidence between the sermon and the *Apology*.

These circumstances by no means detract from the merits of JEWELL's work. While they lessen its pretensions to originality, they enhance its claim to respect, as the result of the combined wisdom and learning of its day, merely culled and arranged by the master hand whose name it bears.

As such the *Apology* was openly recognised by those who were best acquainted with its origin and character. The biographers of JEWELL, and after them, the historians of the reformation, unanimously represent him as having undertaken the work at the instigation of his fellow bishops; principally for the purpose of conveying correct impressions of the state of religion in England to foreigners,* whom the Romanists used every artifice to deceive and prejudice against the newly renovated Church. For this reason it was necessary that it should be written in Latin, the universal language; and the celebrated purity of JEWELL's Latin style was unquestionably one of the reasons that led to his appointment. His work appears to have been perused in manuscript by several of the bishops, and among them by Archbishop Parker, and to have received their corrections, previously to its presentation to the Queen.^d After having passed this ordeal, a fair transcript was submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth, and, receiving her hearty approbation, was at length committed to the press. Hence the work is repeatedly spoken of as published 'by authority,' or 'set out by the Queen's authority;'^e and in WALTER

* "That thereby *all foreign nations* might understand the considerations and causes of your majesty's doings in behalf of the catholic faith" says JEWELL, in his Dedication of the *Defence of the Apology* to Queen Elizabeth.

^d Mr. ISAACSON says that "the copy was sent to Secretary Cecil for his judgment, and the Queen's approbation, in 1561." *Life of Bishop Jewell*, p. lvii.

^e Articles prepared for the Convocation of 1562—3.

HADDON'S answer to OSORIUS, (which is itself termed 'a state book' by STRYPE,^f) that adversary of the English reformation is explicitly referred to the *Apology*, as an authentic statement of the principles of the Church of England 'offered to Christendom by that Church, as a hostage for its adherence to the common faith.'^g Such, indeed, is the character claimed, both in the work itself,^h and by its author elsewhere, when he speaks of it as "containing the whole substance of the catholic faith confessed and freely preached throughout all the Queen's dominions."ⁱ

The first edition appeared toward the close of the year 1562, probably just before the meeting of the Convocation in January 1563, (then reckoned 1562;) and was almost immediately followed by an English translation, published by the direction of Archbishop Parker, if not made by him. Both were sedulously circulated, at home and abroad, and in a very short space of time, foreign editions of the original, and several translations into other languages, had made the work extensively known upon the continent.

Abroad, it met with the most flattering reception. Being "made common to the most part of all Europe," JEWELL writes to the queen, with justifiable pride, in his dedication of the *Defence*, "it hath been well allowed of and liked by the learned and godly, as is plain by their open testimonies touching the same."—The congratulatory letter of PETER MARTYR to the author, prefixed to the Latin work, and for the first

^f *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 249. fol. ed.

^g "Quam Ecclesia nostra tanquam communem et certam nostræ religionis obsidem, palam in oculis orbis Christiani collocauit." Quoted by STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 249.

^h *Apology*, Ch. IV. (numbered in this edition, erroneously, V.) § 4.

ⁱ Dedication of the *Defence*.

time given in an English dress in this edition,^{*} may serve as a specimen of those testimonies.

At home, its estimation was, if that might be, still higher. It was admired and praised by all the friends of the reformation, and received with silent dismay by the advocates of the 'old religion.' In the Convocation which met soon after the publication of the work, it was invariably regarded as a standard of faith, of little less authority than the Liturgy and Articles themselves. A schedule of business prepared, in anticipation, for the Convocation,¹ contains, among other matters, the proposition that the 'Apology of this Church, once again revised, and so augmented and corrected as occasion serveth,' be adjoined, in one book, to a Catechism and Articles, to be adopted; and that the whole be authorized, as containing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to youth: offences in speaking or writing against it to be punished as those against the Common Prayer. In another paper, relative to the same Convocation, supposed by STRYPE to be the production of Archbishop Parker's secretary, it is proposed to *extract* from the Apology articles for general assent.—When it is remembered that these propositions were brought before the Convocation in which the Catechism and Articles, as they now stand, were discussed and adopted; the high ground occupied by the Apology, as a *standard* of the Church, comes clearly into view. We have reason to thank God that the wisdom of the leading men of that Convocation, under the guidance of His providence, overruled the disposition to exalt the work to a still higher place ;—

^{*} This was written and set up before the editor had seen the translation, or rather paraphrase which Mr. ISAACSON has appended to the *Life of Jewell*, accompanying his Translation of the *Apology*.

¹ Preserved by STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 283.

for the results of such a measure would, in all probability, have been little less disastrous than the kindred proceedings of the Lutherans in Germany—at first, the fiercest controversy, and ultimately, total disregard of all ties of union in faith;—but we cannot lightly regard a work which there was at least a disposition among the framers of the Articles to place upon a level with the Articles themselves.

It was not to be expected that a work of this nature, and of such pretensions, should be suffered to remain unanswered. In the tongue, indeed, which its author had chosen as the fittest vehicle for his plea, it met with no reply; although it is said^m that the Council of Trent considered it an object worthy of animadversion, and appointed two ecclesiastics, a Spaniard and an Italian, to prepare an answer. Some time, also, elapsed before the English Romanists gathered spirits to attack a production at once so learned and so eloquent, even in their own language—with all the advantage of writing in their mother tongue, and against a translation. At length, in 1564, one DORMAN,ⁿ a fellow of New College,

^m HUMPHREY, Jewell's earliest and contemporary biographer, asserts this as matter of common fame:—"etiamsi omnium sermone tritum sit Synodum Tridentinum vidisse, et in eam acriter inquisivisse, et respondendi pensum *Hispano* cuidam et *Italo* jam olim demandasse." FEATLY gives the same account, with the variation of substituting a *Frenchman* for the Spaniard; in which form also (I think) it is somewhere given by JEWELL himself. This is all the authority I can find for the fact, of which I discover no vestiges in the histories of the Council of Trent by FRA PAOLO, PALLAVICINI, and LE COURAYER; although STRYPE and COLLYER repeat the statement, but without adducing vouchers.

ⁿ The name is sometimes erroneously spelt DORMER.—DORMAN is called the scholar of HARDING, and the dedication of his first work to that eminent fellow-combatant, gives some probability to the representation. He died either in 1572, or 1577. He was at least suspected of employing borrowed capital in his expenditures of controversial lore. As executor to Dr. Richard Smith, of the same college, a learned and zealous advocate of Popery, he obtained possession of his papers, whence he was charged with deriving stores of learning not his own.

Oxford, described as 'a young forward man,'^o led the onset, in a work entitled *A Proof of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Mr. Jewell*,^p printed at Antwerp, where its author then lived, a refugee. Against this writer Jewell was defended by Dean NOWELL, the author of the Latin Catechism adopted by the Convocation, and one of the most eminent divines of his Church. DORMAN replied; and a controversy of some extent, between him, with SAUNDERS and STAPLETON,^q two English Papists then resident at Louvain, on the one side; and NOWELL on the other; was the consequence.^r

JEWELL's abilities were reserved for a more formidable assailant. In 1565 THOMAS HARDING,^s said to have been the tutor of Dorman, and once the fellow student and intimate of Jewell,^t but already engaged with him

^o STRYPE.

^p It maintained 1) the papal supremacy; 2) the antiquity of the doctrine of transubstantiation; 3) communion in one kind; and 4) private masses; adding twelve reasons for adherence to the old faith.

^q So STRYPE affirms: but no work of STAPLETON bears any reference to JEWELL or NOWELL in its title.

^r NOWELL's answer to DORMAN was entitled *The Reproof of Mr. Dorman his 'Proof &c., 4to., 1566.* DORMAN replied, in *A Disproof of Mr. Alexander Nowell's 'Reproof, &c., Antwerp, 4to., 1566.* SAUNDERS also, in his 'huge volume,' *The Supper of our LORD set forth according to the Truth of the Gospel and Catholic Faith*, professed to answer NOWELL; although out of eight hundred and fifty pages, he merely bestowed thirty-four in animadversions upon fourteen lines of NOWELL's *Reproof*. In 1567 NOWELL rejoined to both, in a work of considerable extent, under the title of *A Confutation as well of Mr. Dorman's late book, entitled, 'A Disproof &c., as also of D. Sander his Causes of Transubstantiation:—whereby our countrymen, specially the simple and unlearned, may understand how shamefully they are abused by those and the like books, pretended to be written for their instruction*; pointing out, among other similar characteristics, DORMAN's gross plagiarisms from HARDING and HOSIUS, of arguments which as originally propounded had been already triumphantly confuted by JEWELL.

^s Some account of him will be given in a subsequent page, in a note to the 'Memoir.'

^t "The controversies sometime handled between M. HARDING and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years; who being brought up together in one University,

in a controversy excited by the famous challenge at Paul's Cross, published *A Confutation of the book called an Apology of the Church of England*, Antwerp, 4to., 1565.

The confident claims of this writer to victory, his specious show of authorities, and his extravagant warmth in defence of the very rankest corruptions of Popery—rather than any intrinsic merit in his work, required speedy and thorough refutation. Accordingly, in October 1567, appeared JEWELL's elaborate *Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, containing an Answer to a certain Book lately set forth by Mr. Harding*. In this work the most consummate industry and patience are displayed in dissecting every objection started by his antagonist, and unravelling every thread of the film of misrepresentation and deceit cast around the subject by that wily controversialist. It is a production little, if at all inferior to the *Apology* in eloquence, and unquestionably surpassing it in learning; though necessarily of more transient interest, on account of its close reference to the attacks of HARDING. The copious extracts given in the notes to this volume, will enable the reader to form some estimate of the value of its multifarious contents.*

HARDING quickly rejoined in *A Detection of sundry foul Errors, Lies, Slanders, Corruptions, and other false Dealings, touching Doctrine and other matters*,

it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, 'They learned in the same, that which in contrary camps they did practise.'** HOOKER *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book II. Sect. 6.

* The *Defence* was translated into Latin by Thomas Braddock, fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, and printed at Geneva in folio, 1600. It was reprinted in English, together with the Answer to HARDING's *Detection*, in 1563—9, and 1570—1, in folio; and in JEWELL's collected *Works*, 1609 and 1611.

* Jugurtha et Marius—in hisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis facerent.' VELL. PATERCULUS.

uttered and practised by *M. Jewell*, in a book lately by him set forth, entitled *Defence of the Apology, &c.*, printed at Louvain in 1568, in 4to., with even more virulence, and less show of reason, than had characterized his former production. In 1569, *JEWELL* closed the discussion, by a second edition of his *Defence*, in which were inserted, together with the text of the *Apology*, and nearly the whole of *HARDING's Confutation*, answers to every thing material in the *Detection*.^v

Nor were *DORMAN* and *HARDING* the only assailants aroused by the *Apology*.—*JOHN RASTELL*,^w another exile for religion, domiciled at Louvain, and already engaged as an antagonist to *JEWELL* in the controversy relative to the challenge, published *A Brief View of the false Wares packed up in the nameless Apology of the Church of England*, 8vo., Louvain, 1567.—*ALAN COPE*, *SAUNDERS*, *STAPLETON*, and *HESKYNs*, are also mentioned as having written against the *Defence*.^x

In the meanwhile, the *Apology* maintained its rank in the public estimation, and was repeatedly republished, both in the original and in translations. The former was reprinted both in Germany and Paris.^y Of the

^v FROM *WATTS' Bibliotheca Britannica* and the catalogue of *Jewell's* works appended to *Mr. ISAACSON's Life*, it appears that the additional matter in this edition was also published separately, under the title of *An Answer to a book written by Mr. Harding, entitled, 'A Detection' &c.* London, 1568, 1570, fol.

^w He was a student of *Common Law*, and nephew to *SIR THOMAS MORE* by his sister, who had married *John Rastell*, a London printer of some eminence. He died at Ingolstadt, about the year 1600.

^x *COLLYER, Ecclesiastical History*, II. 479. *STRYPE's Annals*, I. 251.—*COPE* is expressly said by *HUMPHREY* to have answered the *Apology* in Latin; yet his name does not appear in *WATTS' Bibliotheca*. Neither does that work give the title of any production of *STAPLETON*, or of *HESKYNs* directed against the *Apology*, or its *Defence*.

^y Beside these editions, which it is certain were executed very shortly after the first appearance of the work, *Mr. ISAACSON* mentions others at Zurich, Geneva, and Basle. The following are also on record:—*London*, 1565, 12mo.; 1584, 8vo.; 1591; 1606, 12mo.; 1626, 24mo.; 1637; 1692, 12mo.; *Oxford*, 1639, 12mo.; *Cambridge*, 1683;

latter, those into French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch, appeared before the publication of the *Defence*,* and another in Germany was in all probability at least as early.*

It has been already mentioned that a translation of the 'Apologia' into English almost immediately followed the work itself. This, which was printed in 4to., in 1562, was anonymous.^b It has been lately republished, in the seventh volume of the collection entitled *The Fathers of the English Church*, London, 1811. It is bald and spiritless, but generally faithful, though somewhat paraphrastic. Its rugged English, and uncouth phraseology, present a sad contrast with the smooth and flowing Latin of the original, and are greatly inferior to the style of JEWELL's writings in his mother tongue.

These defects, it seems, were soon discovered: for in 1564, it was succeeded, and greatly surpassed, by the version now republished—the production of a lady!

1818: *Amberg*, 1606, 12mo.: *Amsterdam*, 1606: (so ISAACSON; but qu? is it not an error for the *Amberg* edition, which he does not mention?) *Frankfort*, 1617.

The 'Apologia' is also reprinted in MOCKET's *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesie Anglicanae*, 1618; and in the first volume of Bishop RANDOLPH'S *Enchiridion Theologicum, or Manual for the use of Students in Divinity*.—In all of these editions which I have seen, not excepting the last, the references in the margin are exceedingly incorrect, and the division into paragraphs (there are no chapters or sections in the Latin work) is very faulty.

* COLLYER *Eccles. Hist.* II. 479.

^a FEATLY'S *Life of Jewell*, marg. note.—A Greek translation (of which Mr. ISAACSON names J. SMITH as the author,) was published at Oxford, in 8vo., in 1614; and again, together with the Latin, in 1639: and another, in *Welch*, by MAURICE KYFFIN at the same place, in 1571, and again, *London*, 1595.

^b Mr. ISAACSON attributes it to REINER WOLF, observing that Archbishop PARKER had a considerable share in the work: (*Life of Jewell*, p. cix.) But REYNOLD WOLF was the printer, not only of this translation, but also of the original, on its first appearance.—WATTS gives the earliest translation of the Apology to Archbishop PARKER; but as he describes it as printed both in 1562, and in 1564, the last of which dates can only apply to LADY BACON'S translation; it is altogether probable that the Archbishop's concern was the same in both, viz. a commendatory letter prefixed to each, and signed 'M. Cant.'

Lady ANNE BACON,* daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Queen's Great Seal, had already displayed her learning and her zeal for the advancement of religious knowledge and the principles of the reformation, by a

* This lady was of a family truly illustrious, in the fullest import of the expression. Her father renowned for piety, learning, and every social virtue—her three sisters, Lady Burleigh, Lady Russel, and Lady Catharine Killigrew, equalled only by herself in the combination of feminine accomplishments with masculine talents and endowments to an extent which procured for them the undivided homage of the learned and good, not only in their own, but in foreign countries—her husband a consummate statesman, firm in his country's confidence and high in his sovereign's esteem—her son the immortal leader in the paths of *inductive philosophy*:—could mortal aspire to be more happy in the ties of consanguinity?

Lady Anne was the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and born about the year 1528. The liberal education which her excellent father bestowed upon his children met with the most kindly reception, and early displayed extraordinary fruits. The translation of OCHIAI's Sermons from the Italian must have been executed before she had attained her twenty-second year, as it was published in 1550.

She became the second wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, certainly before the year 1560, as Sir Francis Bacon, born in 1561, was her second son; yet probably not before the accession of Elizabeth, (1558,) since BALLARD, who is generally accurate, speaks of her translation of the *Apology* as made "soon after her marriage." Her married life is described as having been remarkably domestic, and crowned with almost perfect happiness, in the society of her husband and the education of her children. To her sedulous attention to this latter object, for which she was so eminently qualified, much of the success of her celebrated son has been attributed, and not without probability. The maternal anxiety, conjoined with masculine understanding and talent for business, with which she watched over her children's welfare, even after they had grown to man's estate, appears conspicuously in some letters to Anthony, her eldest son, while on his travels, after his father's death, which happened in 1579. It is true, the complaining tone of these letters, written under the apprehension of injurious consequences of her son's proceedings, has given occasion to the charge of querulousness, if not ill-temper. But the asperity of their style will be found to be common in similar writings of that age—the earnestness which produced it, is only to be regarded as evidence of the strength of a mother's affection.

Lady Bacon is supposed to have died about the commencement of the reign of James the First, at Gorbamby, in Kent, formerly her husband's residence.

The estimation in which she was held even in foreign countries, may be inferred from the fact that the celebrated BAZA dedicated to her his *Meditations on the Psalms*.

translation from the Italian of the Sermons of BERNARD OCHIN,^d published about the year 1550. As well skilled in the learned languages as in the Italian, she was fully able to enjoy the flowing eloquence of the Apology in its original form, and to appreciate the degree in which it lost by being exhibited in its first imperfect version. A desire to give the work its full efficacy in an English dress, by clothing its solid matter with an elegance of style corresponding in some measure with that of the original, was doubtless Lady Bacon's motive for undertaking the labour of a new translation.

That accuracy, as well as elegance, was a principal object of her care, appears from the measures which she took on the completion of the work. A copy was submitted to Archbishop Parker, as the principal guardian of the doctrine of the Church, with a request for his revision; and another was sent to JEWELL, accompanied by an epistle in Greek, in which the learned authoress expressed her anxiety to have the

^d The work was executed in conjunction with some other person, (probably her father,) as appears from the title: '*Certayne Sermons of the ryghte famous and excellent clerk, Master BARNARDINE OCHINE, born within the famous university of Siena in Italy, now also an example in thys life, for the faithfull testimony of JESUS CHRISTE. Twenty-five Sermons translated into English from the Italian by a gentleman, and the last twenty-five by a young lady.*' 8vo.

OCHIN, one of the most eloquent preachers of his day, was born at Sienna in Italy, in 1487. He entered the order of Capuchin friars, of which some have even considered him the founder, and became General of the Order in 1538. Eight years afterwards he embraced the principles of the reformation, and was under the necessity of going into voluntary exile, first to Geneva, afterwards to Strasburg. Thence he accompanied PETER MARTYR into England, and subsequently to Zurich, where he was appointed pastor of the Italian congregation in 1555. Here he soon fell into grievous errors on the subject of marriage, which brought on his expulsion in 1563. From Zurich he returned to Basle, and thence to Poland, where he either imbibed, or, as some contend, openly avowed what he had previously believed, the tenets of Socinianism. He died, miserably poor and neglected, aged 77, at Slaucow in Moravia, in the year 1564.

Author's own approval of her work, that she might be certified of having in no point mistaken his meaning.

Both the prelates acceded to her request; and, it is said, on reading the translation, found it so correct that "they mended nothing, no not the least word:"—it must, however, be confessed that they *might* have found some occasion for the exercise of their critical abilities, had not a conviction of the general faithfulness of the version, or the press of other occupations, prevented a thoroughly accurate inspection; a few, though but a few, instances of mistranslation have been discovered, and are pointed out in the notes to this edition.

The Archbishop testified his approbation of the work, by committing it immediately to the press; and accompanied the present of a printed copy with the following letter, too interesting, both as the opinion of a competent judge respecting the merits of the translation, and as a tribute to the accomplished authoress, to be omitted.*

After a superscription 'To the Right Honourable, learned, and virtuous lady Anne Bacon, Matthew Cantuariensis [Archbishop of Canterbury] wisheth from God grace, honour, and felicity;' he told her, that 'According to her request, he had perused her 'studious labour of translation, profitably employed in a 'right commendable work. Whereof, for that it liked 'her to make him a judge, and for that the thing itself 'had singularly pleased his judgment, and delighted his 'mind in reading it, he had right heartily to thank her 'ladyship, both for her well thinking of him, and for the 'comfort that it wrought in him. But far above these

* The copy in the text, it will be perceived, is in the form of an abstract. It is derived from BALLARD, (*Memoirs of British Ladies* &c. p. 123,) who borrowed it from STRYPE.

‘ private respects, he was by greater causes enforced,
‘ not only to shew his rejoyce of this her doing, but also
‘ to testify the same by this his writing prefixed before
‘ the work, to the commodity of others, and good
‘ encouragement of herself. That she had used her
‘ accustomed modesty, in submitting it to judgment;
‘ but therein her praise doubled, sith it had passed
‘ judgment without reproach. And whereas both the
‘ chief author of the Latin work, and he, severally peru-
‘ sing and conferring her whole translation, had without
‘ alteration allowed of it, he was both to desire her
‘ ladyship, and advertise the readers, to think that they
‘ had not therein given any thing to any dissembling
‘ affection towards her, as being contented to wink at
‘ faults to please her, or to make her without cause
‘ to please herself. For that there were sundry
‘ respects to draw them from so doing, although they
‘ had been so ill minded, as there was no cause why
‘ they should be so thought of. That her own judgment
‘ in discerning flattery, her modesty in misliking it, the
‘ laying open of their opinion to the world, the truth of
‘ their friendship towards her, the unwillingness of them
‘ both, in respect to their vocations, to have that public
‘ work not truly and well translated, were good causes
‘ to persuade, that their allowance was of sincere truth
‘ and understanding. That by her travail she expressed
‘ an acceptable duty to the glory of God, deserved well of
‘ this Church of CHRIST, honourably defended the good
‘ fame and estimation of her own native tongue, shewing
‘ it so able to contend with a work originally written in
‘ the most praised speech. That besides the honour
‘ done to her sex, and to the degree of ladies, she had
‘ done pleasure to the author of the Latin book, in
‘ delivering him by her clear translation, from the perils
‘ of ambiguous and doubtful constructions; and in

‘making his good work more publicly beneficial :
 ‘Whereby she had raised up great comfort to her
 ‘friends, and had furnished her own conscience joyfully
 ‘with the fruit of her labour, in so occupying her time.
 ‘Which must needs redound to the encouragement of
 ‘noble youth in their good education, and to spend
 ‘their time and knowledge in godly exercise, she
 ‘having delivered them so singular a precedent. That
 ‘as God, he was sure, did accept that her doing, and
 ‘would bless with increase ; so her and their most
 ‘virtuous and learned sovereign lady and mistress, it
 ‘should be good cause to commend ; and all gentlewo-
 ‘men should, he trusted, hereby be allured from vain
 ‘delights, to doings of more perfect glory.

‘That he for his part, as occasion might serve,
 ‘should exhort others to take profit by her work, and
 ‘follow her example : whose success he beseeched our
 ‘heavenly Father to bless and prosper. That to the
 ‘end, both to acknowledge his good approbation, and
 ‘to spread the benefit more largely, where her ladyship
 ‘had sent him her book written, he had with most
 ‘heartly thanks returned it to her, as she saw, printed :
 ‘knowing that he had thereby done for the best, and in
 ‘this point used a reasonable policy ; that is, to prevent
 ‘such excuses as her modesty would have made in stay
 ‘of publishing it.’^c

^c This is evidently the commendatory letter, spoken of in Note ^b, p. xiv.

DR. KIPPIS, in his life of JEWELL in the *General Biography*, asserts that LADY BACON's translation, when printed, was accompanied by some *additions* by Archbishop PARKER ; quoting as authority, BIRCH's *Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth*, Vol. I. p. 11.—The same assertion is made in the *Biographia Britannica*, (Vol. I. Art. *Anthony Bacon*,) where STRYPE is quoted as the authority.—Unless these assertions refer to the commendatory letter, they must have arisen from some mistake concerning JEWELL's *own* alterations in the translation, remarked in Note ^e p. 25 ; Note ^f p. 137 ; and Note ^g p. 144.

These circumstances attending its publication give LADY BACON's translation of the *Apology* the stamp of authenticity—almost equal to that which would have belonged to a rendering by the author himself. Accordingly, it was by him incorporated with the *Defence*, and the *Answer* to HARDING's *Rejoinder*; being printed entire, in paragraphs, with the remarks of HARDING, and JEWELL's replies, appended to each paragraph—a method of publication unsightly, and at first somewhat perplexing to the reader, but certainly entitled to the praise of fairness, and well adapted to assist the reader in the formation of an impartial judgment. Beside several separate editions,⁵ it has been reprinted in the same combination, in the collected *Works* of JEWELL, printed (in black letter) in folio, in 1609, and again in 1611. From a copy of the last edition, belonging to the library of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the text of the present edition has been carefully transcribed by the editor.

Even before this open recognition of LADY BACON's translation by the author of the *Apology*, his opponent, HARDING, had evinced his belief that it alone was to be regarded as authentic; not only by selecting it, in preference to the Latin, as the basis of his remarks in the *Confutation*, and by declining to avail himself of the faultiness of the previous version, (an advantage which the general tenor of his course renders it improbable that he would have foregone, had he considered it within his option,) but also by frequently twitting JEWELL with the 'lady interpreter' of his work. On one occasion, JEWELL takes notice of a

⁵ London, 1564, 8vo.; 1600, 24mo.; 1606, fol. (?); 1626, 12mo.; 1685, 8vo.; 1719, 8vo.—WATTS' *Bibliotheca*.

passage of this sort, and repels it with honest indignation :—"a lady, I will not say of what learning, virtue, and gravity, but certainly as far from all unwomanly presumption, wherewith ye so rudely touch her, as you are from all manly modesty : and for aught that may appear by these toys and trifles ye have sent us over, as full of wisdom, as you of folly." *Defence*, p. 79.

Indeed, his thanks were richly merited by his fair translator. It is seldom that an author receives such justice at a translator's hands, as she had rendered JEWELL. With the very few exceptions already alluded to, her version is not only faithful, but remarkably accurate and close ; as a careful collation with the original enables the editor to affirm, of his own knowledge. But this may almost be called its least praise. It is an English composition, worthy, in all respects, to represent the polished style of its original. No writing of the age excels it in purity, grammatical accuracy, and flowing richness of expression ; very few have any pretensions to equal it. JEWELL'S own English style was unusually pure and free : but it must yield the palm to LADY BACON ; as a comparison of the *Treatise of the Holy Scriptures*, contained in this volume, with the *Apology*, may convince the reader.

In one respect, LADY BACON even rises superior to her great contemporary, SPENSER ; her English has fewer traces of the French and Latin idioms—it is more purely Anglo-Saxon, smacks more richly of the 'wells of English undefiled.' The lover of our language in the prime of its native vigour—unadulterated by the immixture of the Gallicisms and Latinisms which contribute so largely to the stock of modern English—unsophisticated by the grammatical nicety which has drawn a line of separation between the written and the spoken tongue, and reduced the former almost to the

condition of a dead language—may derive a rich treat from her translation of the *Apology*.^b

Yet, with all its excellences, this translation has not been without its rivals. Two have been offered to the public within the present century, by clergymen of the Church of England.

The first appeared in 1813, with the following title :—*The Apology of the Church of England, translated from the Latin of Bishop Jewell, with historical notes ; to which is added, the celebrated Sermon preached by Bishop Jewell at Paul's Cross, in the year 1560. By the Rev. ARCHIBALD COLIN CAMPBELL, A. M. Svo. Pontefract. 388 pp.* This publication was evidently 'got up' (to use the cant phrase) to serve the purposes of the opponents of the measure denominated *Catholic Emancipation*. As might be expected from such an origin, it displays little editorial ability and possesses still less solid worth. The translation, although not devoid of spirit, is exceedingly loose and paraphrastic. The notes are meagre extracts from the *Defence*, bearing upon the points of the political question which produced the book, and a few trite quotations from MOSHEIM.

A subsequent revival of the *Catholic Question*, produced another translation, published in 1825, by the title of *An Apology for the Church of England, by the Right Rev. John Jewell, D. D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury : faithfully translated from the original Latin, and illustrated with copious notes, by the Rev. STEPHEN ISAACSON, B. A., of Christ's College, Cambridge : to which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life and*

^b It must be confessed, that the tasteless editor of the *Biographia Britannica* says of this very work, 'Who but an antiquary would now seek for it, or give himself the trouble of perusing it?' By his own showing, he had not read it. If he had, with all his dulness, he would hardly have passed such a judgment upon one of the finest specimens of genuine Saxon English extant.

Writings, and a preliminary discourse on the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome; in reply to some observations of Charles Butler, Esq. addressed to Dr. Southey, on his Book of the Church. 8vo. London. pp. 420. Having been disappointed in my endeavours to procure this work, I can only quote the opinion expressed by a critic, that “the translation is rather too idiomatic, and adheres too closely to the structure of the Latin; but what it loses in elegance it gains in faithfulness, and it is, upon the whole, a correct copy of the venerable original. The notes are copious and instructive, and the Preliminary Discourse contains a number of valuable observations.”¹

Admitting this criticism to be just, neither of the modern translations has any pretensions to supersede their predecessor. CAMPBELL'S is free and spirited, if not elegant, but it is by no means faithful. ISAACSON'S is faithful, but not elegant. LADY BACON'S is both faithful and elegant, and each in no ordinary degree. It has rendered every idea, and almost every phrase of the original in pure English—English that, after a lapse of almost three centuries, is scarcely chequered with here and there an obsolete expression.

But the adoption of this version by the author of the work itself, gives it a still superior claim to prefer-

¹ *Quarterly Theological Review*, Vol. II. p. 304.—Since the above was in type, the editor has become indebted to the polite attentions of a relative of Mr. Isaacson for a copy of his work, in the second edition, of 1829. The cursory inspection he has been enabled to give the translation inclines him to think the stricture of the reviewer, though not entirely groundless, too strongly expressed. Yet the reasons for preferring Lady Bacon's translation given in the text, appear to him to possess undiminished weight. One, indeed,—the sanction of the author—which is in itself paramount, no circumstances could alter.

Mr. ISAACSON'S *Life of Bishop Jewell*, and the appended Catalogue of his Works, and Collection of Testimonies, display very considerable research; and as several of the authorities in Mr. ISAACSON'S list are not accessible to the present editor, they have enabled him to make some corrections, and many additions to this Preface and the Memoir.

ence—in fact, leaves hardly room for choice. JEWELL has made it his own, and we are as safe in using it, as if we used his Latin. We have no right to make a representation of his meaning, different from that which he has thus sanctioned: we do him injustice, if we refuse him the privilege of speaking in the language which he has chosen.

On these principles the choice of the text of this edition was made. Yet every line has been compared with the original, with the translation reprinted in the *Fathers of the English Church*, and with that of CAMPBELL; and every departure of the translation from the Latin, that is of the least importance, has been mentioned in the notes.

Those notes have swelled far beyond the expectations of the editor, when he commenced the volume. Having set out on the plan of making every thing intelligible and useful to *all* his readers, he found subjects of illustration and explanation multiplying in every page. Very probably some may consider many of these attempts to aid the reader, as unnecessary or even impertinent; but it will be less at variance with the objects of the publication of which the volume forms a part, that *three* should pass by *a note* containing information already in possession, than that *one* should lose the meaning of a word or an allusion in the *text*, for want of explanation. *Utility* the editor must once more avow as his only aim: if, on the whole, the greatest measure of *utility to all* has been attained, he is satisfied.

A considerable proportion of the notes consists of extracts from the *Defence of the Apology*, enlarging, explaining, and defending the statements made in the text. Nearly every thing in the *Defence* having a direct bearing upon the *Apology* has been thus presented to

the reader, who may consider himself as in possession of all which its author was able, or saw fit, to produce upon the subjects of which it treats.

Sometimes, but not often, a correction of some oversight of JEWELL in statement or in argument, has been ventured.

In a very few instances, the editor has allowed himself to expatiate on subjects not actually required for the illustration of his author, because he thought their introduction seasonable, or believed that the information was needed and would be acceptable to his readers.

Brief statements of historical transactions alluded to by JEWELL as well known, and short accounts of authors whom he cites as authorities, have been given, for the purpose of preserving to his illustrations and examples all their force, and of enabling the reader to form a judgment of the value of his authorities.

Every reference and quotation, with the exception of a very few from works not accessible, has been verified. These were in many cases omitted, in many more given with exceeding inaccuracy, not only in the old editions, but even in that of Bishop RANDOLPH. No pains has been spared to render them both full and accurate in the present edition.—The quotations from Scripture, in the text, made by JEWELL from the old translations of his day, have been given in the words of the present authorized version, that no unnecessary difficulty or delay might be left to obstruct the reader's progress.

The division and subdivision of the work is entirely new. Had any uniformity on this point prevailed in former editions, this peculiarity would be no advantage to the present. But such is not the case. On the contrary, no two agree. The Latin text has no formal division, beside the distinctions into paragraphs, and

this in many cases obviously improper. The edition published with the *Defence*, is subdivided, for convenience of comparison between the text and the answer, to an extent that it would be preposterous to follow; the sections often consisting of no more than a single sentence. CAMPBELL's translation has no other division than that into chapters, and this wholly differing both from the subdivisions in the *Defence*, and from those of the translation published in the *Fathers of the Church of England*.¹ In this variety, with no paramount claim to reception on any part, there appeared to be no better course than to select from among the whole, such an arrangement and subdivision of the work as would at the same time best assist the reader in acquiring a knowledge of its contents and furnish most facilities for reference.

In Chapter VII. the editor has omitted several passages—marking the omission by asterisks. The reasons are stated in a note appended to the first. To estimate their value the reader must remember that this volume is designed for a general circulation among persons of all classes.

The *Treatise of the Holy Scriptures*, which has been joined with the *Apology* in this edition, although one of the least celebrated, is by no means the least important of its author's works. Its subject—the *uses and universal applicability* of the instructions contained in the sacred volume—has been justly regarded as the turning point of the reformation. Every corruption which deforms the system of the Church of Rome may be traced to the operation of erroneous views upon that

¹ In Mr. ISAACSON's translation (received since the above was written) the division into chapters is the same with that in the '*Fathers*,' &c., although the headings are different, and the subdivision into sections is wanting. Possibly this division may be adopted from one of the old editions, not accessible to the present editor.

subject. The most grievous exertion of the tyranny which the reformers shook off when it could no longer be endured, was the contravention of the principle, that *all need*, and *all may claim of right*, the Scriptures for their own private use. The strongest bulwark of the reformation is the allowance and exercise of that privilege.

The principle, and the resulting privilege, have seldom been maintained more ably than in JEWELL's Treatise, even in works of greater bulk, extent of erudition, and depth of argument. The author makes no pause on half-way ground, to settle principles and lay down terms of combat which neither contending party has authority to fix, or to allow definitively when fixed by others. He takes the reader directly to the source of knowledge and law, and draws from the avouchment of the DEITY himself the credentials of his word as the *sole* and *universal* arbiter, instructor, guide, and comforter. This is the prominent feature, and constitutes the principal value of his work. It is one unbroken chain of appeals to the word of God itself for proof of its authority, its use, and its freeness to all who choose to avail themselves of the advantage. The admirable propriety with which these appeals are made to direct assertions, to implied statements, to illustrative examples, and to confirmatory reasoning, must strike the most indifferent reader. They display an acquaintance with the Scriptures,—a readiness to use every part for 'reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness and thorough furnishing unto all good works' which could only have been the result of the most assiduous study, and, when the absence of those helps which we now enjoy in Concordances, Summaries, &c. is taken into the account, appears truly wonderful.

Yet even in this excellent production, in which one

of the most important subjects that man can choose for the theme of speculation is discussed in a manner that no candid reader will hesitate to acknowledge fully adequate; the learned and eloquent writer can hardly be considered as fairly represented. He does not appear before us, as he might have chosen, had his arguments received his own preparation for the press. We have but the rough material, from which he would have constructed a splendid edifice. The *Treatise* is a posthumous publication, and compiled, as its title imports, from sermons preached by JEWELL in his cathedral church the year before his death, but neither prepared nor designed for the press.^k They were evidently a *course*; and the main outlines of the preacher's arguments and evidence appears to have been faithfully preserved. The language, too, sufficiently resembles that of JEWELL's English publications issued during his life, to authorize the belief that it has undergone little, if any alteration. Yet how much we have lost, in point of fulness of illustration and energy of application to the heart and conscience, from the want of the preacher's own revision, may be readily conceived. It is even possible that the few inadvertences pointed out in notes to this edition, are attributable rather to the editor, than to the author: at least, it is fair to presume that they would not have escaped correction, had the latter prepared his sermons for publication.

The first edition of this *Treatise* was in connexion with the *View of a seditious Bull*, (a work in like manner compiled from a course of sermons, subsequently to the author's death,) in 8vo., 1583. It has since

^k It was published by JOHN GARBRAND, who, in a preface dated Jan. 27, 1582, gives an interesting account of the last hours of Jewell, of which he seems to have been a witness.

appeared only in the collective editions of JEWELL's works, and in the Seventh Volume of the *Fathers of the English Church*. The text of the present edition was transcribed for the press from the same copy of the *Works of JEWELL* which furnished that of the *Apology*.

The greater proportion of the Scriptural references in the margin of the present edition were added by the editor: such as were already given in preceding editions have been carefully verified, and when needful (which was by no means seldom) corrected.—The same alteration has been made in the passages quoted in the text, as in the *Apology*.

This *Treatise on the Scriptures*, together with the *Apology*, may be considered as a complete exemplification of the process to which, under God, our Church is beholden for her faith and constitution.

It has been remarked already, that one grand principle—the *sufficiency of the Scriptures for our guidance to all revealed truth*—was the basis of the Reformation. All who disclaimed the tyranny and corruptions of Rome agreed in the recognition of this fundamental truth.

Yet there has been much error prevalent respecting this important principle; and that error has given occasion to the abuse of the authority of the Reformers, and the precedent of the Reformation, for the defence of unchristian license under the mask of Christian liberty. The illustrious instruments of renewing the soiled face of the Christian Church have been represented as the patrons of self-opinionated dogmatism, and their example quoted for the countenance of such as, being 'wise in their own conceits', 'wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction.'

It must be confessed that both the avowed tenets,

and the practice, of many of the continental reformers have considerable tendency to sanction this dangerous extreme: but it is a proud distinction of the English branch of Protestantism that *there* it never was allowed a footing. The principles settled by the Church of England, and with hardly an exception acted on by those who expelled Popery from its bosom, as subordinate to the one fundamental truth already stated, were these:—

1. The appeal to Scripture for *an ultimate decision* of all points essential to Christian faith and practice; and
2. The revocation of all doctrine and discipline to *the primitive pattern*;—in other words, The appeal to antiquity and universal consent in the Church of CHRIST, for the interpretation of Scripture, and the constitution of the Church.

Nothing can be more plain than the exhibition of both these principles in the works of JEWELL now combined, when jointly viewed. The *Treatise* is, throughout, a strenuous assertion, of the first; yet without a single proposition or argument militating against the second. The *Apology* is one continued exemplification of the second, based upon, and allied in the closest combination with the first. In both, the whole aim of the Reformers is uniformly represented to be—not the gratification of a hankering for change—not the establishment of their *own notions* of the import of the Scriptures, and the outward form of Christian polity—but the removal of novelties and corruptions, return to the faith first delivered, and the ministry and ordinances first received, among the followers of CHRIST. ANTIQUITY, UNIVERSALITY, and CONSENT are the standard by which the false interpretations put upon the Scriptures, and unwarranted additions foisted in

their Canon, by the Church of Rome, are invariably meted and rejected. But on the other hand, the **SOLE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE** as the rule of faith, is maintained with equal consistency; and *antiquity*, *universality*, and *consent*, are only brought forward as evidences of its application, and only allowed authority when based upon its dictates. The worthlessness of all *human authority*, as definitive of points of faith, is proclaimed with uncompromising sternness. The sufficiency of *private judgment* to ascertain the truth from Scripture, by the aid of the consentient testimony of the early Church, and so to obtain the ultimate decision of the only acknowledged authority, is boldly asserted and consistently maintained.—In a word, ‘the liberty wherewith **CHRIST** hath made us free,’ is used for the discovery and maintenance of ‘the faith once delivered to the saints:’ the ‘form of sound words’ which the first followers of the apostles ‘heard of’ them, is sought in ‘the pillar and ground of the truth.’

In this respect—as examples of the principles on which the Church of England, and its offspring, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, are built, and have ever been maintained, and will stand as long as the Scriptures are held in **DUE** reverence, and human weakness and presumption made to feel their proper limits—the *Apology* and *Treatise* of **JEWELL** are invaluable. They are, perhaps, when combined, the most complete exhibition of those principles to be found among the writings of the original combatants in their behalf. They are, more than any other production of their day, and perhaps of any age, adapted to induce us, both by admonition and example, “to be careful that, in our anxiety to avoid one extreme, we run not into the other by adopting the extravagant language of

those who, not content with ascribing a paramount authority to the written Word on all points pertaining to eternal salvation, talk as if the Bible—and that, too, the Bible in our English translation—were, independently of all external aids and evidence, sufficient to prove its own genuineness and inspiration, and to be its own interpreter.”¹

¹ KAY'S *Ecclesiastical History illustrated from Tertullian*, p. 304. ed. 2d.

MEMOIR.

That Popery was not fully and finally re-established in England, on the accession of Elizabeth—in a less revolting form, perhaps, than Mary's bigotry had allowed it to assume, but in all the substantiality of its dominion—was unquestionably owing to the zeal and abilities of comparatively a few distinguished individuals among the clergy and laity. The queen did not join to her acknowledged noble qualities the spirit of martyrdom for the sake of religion; and furthermore, was very plainly biassed towards the 'pomp and circumstance' of Romish worship, if not to many of the peculiarities of Romish belief. The disposition of the people was favourable to the Reformation, no doubt: but the little avail of which that disposition would have been, if left to its own workings, was fully tested in the reign of Mary. Without leaders, and leaders of a character to command the co-operation of the Queen, the people would have done nothing. } 2

But the statesmen who were most known as supporters of Elizabeth's title to the crown, were firmly attached to the principles of the Reformation. The exiles of Frankfort, Strasburg, Zurich, and Geneva, almost monopolized the learning and talents of the clergy of England; and they lost no time in hastening to the support of the men on whom, they clearly saw, depended all human probability of the re-establishment of pure religion in the English realm. The combined ranks of these different classes furnished a most formidable band of leaders for the populace, ready to second any measure tending to the subversion of the sanguinary and detested faith of Mary.

Elizabeth felt the necessity of identifying her interests with a cause possessed of such preponderating strength; and after a brief delay of hesitation, buoyed herself

into stability and glory, on the flood-tide of the Reformation.

Among the men whose personal and acquired endowments so greatly contributed, by the disposal of Providence, to perpetuate the blessings of religious liberty and knowledge—not only in England, but by the instrumentality of the Church of England, that ‘bulwark of the reformation,’ throughout the world—JEWELL stands confessedly pre-eminent. It is questionable whether even PARKER (exclusive of his political influence, of which JEWELL possessed little, if any,) brought more weight into the præponderant scale at the great crisis, or acted a more conspicuous part in the establishment of the Reformation on a firm basis in the Church of England.

JEWELL’s varied and well-digested learning, and the happy facility with which he could command that learning at any need—his rich vein of ready eloquence, both in Latin and in his mother tongue—the purity, integrity, and amiability of his deportment—the winning ease, joined with perfect dignity, of his personal appearance and demeanour—the prudence, conciliatory spirit, and yet unblenching firmness of his counsels—all combined to make him one of the fittest instruments for uniting discordant interests, softening asperities of feeling, promoting unanimity, and inspiring zeal, in a nation needing only such leaders to give it irresistible energies in the cause of truth. He was accordingly, high in the esteem of his sovereign, and at the same time popular beyond almost any of his coadjutors. With one mouth, his contemporaries and successors conspire to represent him as the great champion of the Reformation in its last struggle for predominance—his eloquence, and industry, and zeal, as the chief cause, under God, of the happy termination of that struggle.

JOHN JEWELL was born in the village of Buden, in Devonshire, on the 24th of May, 1522. Of his parents we are told, that they were both of ancient families—that their estate, though it had been more than two hundred years in his father’s family, was small—that their private characters were in the highest degree respectable and exemplary—that after living in happy

union fifty years, and raising a family of ten children, they died on the same day—and that Jewell's attachment to his mother, in particular, was so great that he had her maiden name engraven in his signet.

At the age of seven years, Jewell was placed under the care of his maternal uncle John Bellamy, Rector of Hamton. As he was a younger son, and his father's limited circumstances precluded the bestowal of unnecessary expense upon a numerous family, it is probable that an early manifestation of his extraordinary parts was the occasion of his being destined to receive an education for which he would have to be in a great measure dependent upon the bounty of others. At Hamton, and subsequently at the schools of Branton, South Molton, and Barnstaple, Jewell's conduct is described as having given the fairest promise of future excellence. His amiable disposition and irreproachable morals left his teachers no occasion for reproof; while his assiduity and capacity for learning secured a rapid progress in his studies.

So great was this progress, that he was prepared to enter on his studies at the university when only thirteen years of age, and was accordingly admitted a member of Merton College, Oxford, in July, 1535.

In his journey to college, Jewell was accompanied by a school-fellow from Barnstaple^a; and as it is known that HARDING, afterwards his principal antagonist in his controversies with the Romish Church, was such,^b and that they were of the same standing at college,^c it is altogether probable that he was the person. If so, the influence of education in fixing the bent of mind and chalking out the path of life, and the wonderful dispositions of that Providence which orders the ways of men, have seldom been more singularly evident than in the case of these two young students. By what then appeared to be mere chance, Peter Burry, a fellow of Merton College, the person to whom they were commended as their tutor, was unable to take charge of both; and retaining the other, he transferred Jewell

^a HUMFREDI *Vita Juelli*, p. 18, 19.

^b FULLER as quoted by ISAACSON; *Life*, p. iv.

^c WOOD, FULLER, FEATLY.

to the care of John Parkhurst, another fellow of the same college. Burry was a man of little learning, and strongly attached to the principles of Rome: Parkhurst, on the contrary, was an indefatigable student, and a warm advocate of the doctrines of the Reformation, then just beginning to spread. Had Burry retained young Jewell, it is not improbable that his slender instructions and Romish prejudices, if they had not wholly prevented his scholar from receiving the new doctrines, would have prepared him for an apostacy as easy and complete as that of Harding. Had Harding, instead of Jewell, been transferred to Parkhurst, how miserably would his feeble mind and irritable temper have compensated for the loss of that bright intellect and lovely character!

To the tutor thus providentially assigned him, Jewell was indebted for a situation, (that of 'postmaster,' perhaps resembling those of 'sizzars' and 'servitors',) which provided him a maintenance; and far more, for assiduous training, not only in general learning, but in the principles of the purer religion which he professed. Parkhurst's frequent discussions of those principles with his fellow-collegian, Burry, in the presence of his pupil; and his engaging the latter to assist him in a collation of TINDAL'S and COVERDALE'S translations of the Scriptures; are recorded by Jewell's biographers as mainly instrumental in forming him to the opinions which he afterwards so nobly advocated.

Nearly four years after his admission to the university, Jewell was chosen to a scholarship in Corpus Christi College, by the interest of his tutor and other friends, whom his parts and good behaviour had secured. Here he soon distinguished himself, and quickly rose to the head of the senior class. Even at this early date, his elocution was a principal source of his reputation; and many drew auguries of future eminence from the grace and energy with which his college exercises were performed. The diligence and studiousness of the young scholar at this period are spoken of in terms of the highest commendation. As an evidence of their intensity, it is related that while the business of the university was suspended, and its members scattered, on account of a pestilential sickness, Jewell, by prosecuting his studies at late hours in a damp lower-floor apart-

ment in Whitney, a neighbouring village, contracted a lameness (probably a rheumatic affection) which remained with him through life.

In October, 1540, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with uncommon success in the customary exercises. His studies were continued with increased assiduity, frequently occupying him from four in the morning until ten at night, without intermission even for the purpose of taking food. The histories of Polybius, Livy, and Suetonius; the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, which he frequently declaimed in the open air, while walking for exercise; the works of Augustine; and the writings of Erasmus, are said to have been his favourite subjects of study; although the mathematics, and the scholastic sciences of logic and philosophy, as then taught, received no inconsiderable portion of his attention. He was assiduous, also, in the practice of composition, freely expressing his opinion that 'as much profit is to be gained by committing one's own meditations and acquired knowledge to paper, as by extensive reading.'

To these labours for his own improvement, were added the care of several pupils; and, shortly after the reception of his degree, the duties of Lecturer in Humanity and Rhetoric, an office conferred on him by the unanimous suffrages of the President and Fellows of his college. In this last capacity Jewell speedily acquired celebrity, not only without the walls of his own college, but beyond the limits of the university. The students of other colleges flocked to hear him; and his former tutor, Parkhurst, then settled in the rectory of Cleve, at some distance from Oxford, being induced by the reputation of his lectures to visit the university purposely to attend them, expressed his satisfaction in an extempore Latin distich, importing that it was now the teacher's place to learn from him who had once been his scholar.

This period of Jewell's life was indeed eminently honourable and happy. His assiduous cultivation of an intellect naturally quick and fertile, placed him at an enviable distance above his fellows in the various branches of learning. Yet the blameless innocence of his life, and his engaging urbanity of manner, preserved

ee | him from any ill effects of jealousy or disappointed emulation. Even the enemies of his religious principles were constrained to allow him their unwilling praise: it is reported that Moren, the Dean of his college, a man zealously attached to the Romish faith, and notorious for a laxity of morals very disadvantageously contrasted with Jewell's conduct, often broke out in such exclamations as, 'I should love thee, Jewell, if thou wert not a Zwinglian!'—or, 'In faith I hold thee a heretic; but surely thy life seemeth that of an angel!'—or, 'Thou art an honest man, but a Lutheran!'—The approbation of Parkhurst did not show itself only in empty praises: he committed his son to Jewell's tuition; and when the young man found an interval in which he could free himself from the charge of his pupils and the duties of his college lecture-ship, the rectory of Cleve was always open for the hospitable reception of himself and any friend whom he might think proper to invite as a companion in his jaunt. An amusing anecdote, illustrative of the slenderness of Jewell's pecuniary resources at the time, is told concerning one of these visits. He had been accompanied in his excursion by one Wilson, a doctor of Medicine, afterwards physician to the queen: on the morning of their intended departure, their hospitable host, entering their room, playfully searched their pockets, professing his intention to 'see whether those poor beggarly Oxonians carried any money about them'; and finding their store but scanty, replenished it with a bountiful supply.—The same bounty assisted Jewell in bearing the expenses of his Master's degree, which he took in February, 1544.

The accession of Edward the Sixth, in 1546, not only added to the other comforts of Jewell's situation the prospect of quiet enjoyment of his own opinions, and of increased usefulness in their propagation; but brought him an invaluable accession to his circle of friends, in Peter Martyr, who, by Cranmer's invitation, assumed the duties of Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1548. To that eminent foreigner Jewell attached himself almost immediately in the closest intimacy—an intimacy from which he subsequently derived the most important benefits, in the time of his need, and which ended only

with Martyr's life. He attended all the Professor's lectures, taking full notes—'so full,' says HUMPHREY, 'that they almost amount to a commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians and that to the Romans.' On his preaching, also, Jewell was no less diligent in his attention, and endeavours to preserve what he heard. He even acted as Martyr's notary, or shorthand writer, on occasion of the public dispute between him and Chedsey, Tresham, and Morgan, in May, 1549: thus affording a proof, not only of the confidence placed in him by Martyr, and of his expertness in the business of reporting, or taking notes; but also of his decided attachment to the principles of Reformation, and boldness in avowing them;—for Martyr had, but a short while previously, been under the necessity of temporary flight from the University to save his life, in the commencement of the very same dispute.

About or before this time, Jewell must have received holy orders, since HUMPHREY has preserved the outline of a sermon which he delivered to the students in the absence of Peter Martyr, some time before he took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the sermon preached as an exercise for that degree was delivered on the Sunday after Ascension, in 1550. This last sermon is also preserved by HUMPHREY, nearly entire, and furnishes a specimen both of eloquent Latin composition, and of faithful statement of the fundamental principles of Gospel truth, in the highest degree creditable to its author. The text is 1 *Peter* iv. 11.

Jewell's situation at this period, as to pecuniary matters, was little better than in the earlier stages of his college life. It is recorded that a Dr. Curtop, a fellow of his college, and warmly attached to Peter Martyr, assisted him with an annual stipend of forty shillings; and that he received six pounds per annum for the purchase of theological books from Richard Chambers, a munificent individual, who liberally expended his own time and money, and contributions which he procured from others, in the patronage of learning and the principles of the Reformation in both universities. It was at a lecture supported by this gentleman, that Jewell addressed the scholars in the absence of Peter Martyr, as mentioned above.

The office of Lecturer on the Sentences, a sort of Professorship of Scholastical Divinity, which he received from the University in 1550, and that of preacher and catechist at Sunningwell, a small parish in the neighbourhood of Oxford, while they materially increased Jewell's duties, were probably desirable as aids towards his support. It is, however, expressly stated by his biographers that the stipend of the latter office was very small, and would have been no compensation for his labour, had not higher motives induced him to accept the situation, as an opportunity of doing good, though in an humble sphere. Once a fortnight, notwithstanding his lameness, he walked out to his little cure, and spent a day in assiduous endeavours to spread the knowledge of salvation through CHRIST alone among both old and young, by faithful sermons, and plain, affectionate catechetical instructions.

Beside these properly parochial labours, Jewell's anxiety to advance his Master's cause by winning souls, suffered him to lose no opportunity of preaching, either privately in his college, or before the university; and he is said to have done both frequently, although, with the exception of the discourses already mentioned, an English oration in commemoration of the founder of his college, and the text (*James i. 21*) of one other sermon, no relics of his labours are preserved. The accession of Queen Mary, in 1553, brought other times and occupations. The Popish *doctrines* had never been entirely rooted out from Oxford, however thoroughly the strong hand of power had suppressed their cognate practices. The strenuous exertions of Peter Martyr, Jewell, and the few like-minded with them, had accomplished little more than the dissemination of purer religion among the younger portion of the members of the University. Most of the heads of colleges and fellows were, at heart, attached to the faith which they had imbibed in infancy and inseparably associated with all their acquirements and opinions—although not a few had servilely pretended compliance and consent with the prevailing principles. These men—and more especially the latter class—wanted only opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon the individuals who had been so active in subverting their

religion, destroying their influence and hold upon popular opinion, and reducing them to the hard alternative of silent submission to the adverse current, or mean prevarication. The time was now come. A bigoted favourer of their opinions had succeeded to the throne with hardly a show of opposition. They were sure of countenance in whatever measures they might take to humble and distress their late triumphant adversaries ; and might even claim thanks for vengeance done in their personal quarrel, as a meritorious exhibition of their zeal for the true Church.

Jewell, as one of the most zealous and able propagators of the obnoxious doctrines, was among the first who experienced the effects of the altered state of things. Almost immediately on the reception of the news of the queen's accession, before any public measures on the subject of religion had been originated, the head and fellows of his college hastily concerted his expulsion, according to FULLER,^d on the pretext that he refused to assist in the celebration of mass, which they had already restored ; but more probably, on the charges mentioned by his biographers—that he was a follower of Peter Martyr ; that he had taught the new doctrines ; and that he had been ordained by the new ritual established in the reign of Edward. His public collegiate engagements were thus brought to a close. He resigned them in a pathetic valedictory, of which the conclusion has been preserved, and may serve to give some idea of his feelings at the time, as well as of the ability with which they had been fulfilled.

"I see," he said, "that I have incurred the ill-will and malign regards of some. How far I have deserved them, let them answer. Certainly, they who will not suffer me here, would not allow me to live, were it at their option. For my part, I yield to the times : and if those men derive gratification from my calamities, I oppose no obstacle. I adopt the prayer of Aristides, when he went into exile and changed his country,—that none may hereafter have cause to remember me : and what more can they desire ? Pardon me, I beseech you, young men, if I am grieved at being torn by force

^d *Church History*, as quoted by ISAACSON.

from a place where my early years were spent, where I have passed my life, where I have enjoyed some degree of consideration! But why do I delay the one word which consummates my misery? Wo is me, that speaking it at last with anguish, I must bid *farewell* to my studies, to these roofs, to this polished seat of learning, to your loved society! Farewell, young men! Farewell, striplings! Farewell, Fellows; farewell, brothers; farewell, beloved as mine eyes! Farewell, all! *Farewell!*"

There is more of tenderness, and unresisting submission to ill-treatment, in this passage, than of bold determination to suffer in the cause of truth. The same observation applies to the whole of Jewell's subsequent conduct. His past activity and eminent abilities excluded the hope of being suffered to pass unnoticed in the new order of things, on condition merely of silence and retirement. He was a marked man, and must expect to furnish an example of the treatment destined for his party. Yet he appears to have avoided this unenviable eminence as long, and as carefully, as possible. To his expulsion, as he declares in the passage quoted, he opposed no obstacle, but quietly retired to Broadgates Hall, another university foundation, where, for the time, he was suffered to find an asylum, and busied himself in the instruction of pupils whom his reputation still attracted round him. Even when, almost immediately after his expulsion, he was chosen by the University for its orator, probably with a view to the congratulatory address to be made to Mary on her accession, and, as it seems hardly possible not to suspect, with the very design of ensnaring him into some inconsistency or imprudence in the discharge of that delicate duty;—even then, he appears to have made no effort to decline the dangerous and insidious honour. Still less did he embrace the opportunity it afforded for a manly, though hazardous, avowal of his principles. On the contrary, his gifted pen was employed in the expression of congratulations and hopes which could hardly have been sincere on the part of the writer; although some palliation is afforded by the fact that he, in common with many others, was at the time deluded by the false promises of the queen,

made at her accession, and sedulously propagated by her emissaries, that she would make no alteration in the state of religion.

This compliance, however humiliating and distressing, did not yet satisfy the enemies of Jewell. They had resolved that he should drink the cup of bitterness to the dregs; and were but too successful. The odious office of Inquisitor was established in the University; and as one of the most suspected, Jewell was among the first subjects of its exercise. A list of the distinguishing articles of the Romish faith was offered him, as a test of his freedom from 'heretical pravity,' and his signature required, with the customary alternative—imprisonment, and ultimately death. The trial was too hard for him: he dared not refuse; but to conceal, if possible, even from himself, the baseness of subscription to articles which he was known to disbelieve, he affected to turn the matter into jest, and exclaiming with a smile 'What, must I write? will the sight of my hand-writing give you such pleasure? have you set it so much to heart to see how well I can write?'—he signed.

Even this was not enough. The very manner of Jewell's subscription gave evidence that he was not sincere; and it is not unlikely, that his after-thoughts vented themselves in expressions of regret or disgust. Certain it is, that remorse on his part, and renewed persecution by his enemies, speedily followed up the degrading compliance. MARSHALL, then Dean of Christ Church, himself an apostate, was the willing instrument of the machinations now carried on against the life of the intended victim, and despatched a letter of accusation to Bonner—the 'bloody Bonner,' bishop of London.—Jewell providentially learned the fact, just in time to flee for his life. On foot, alone, in every respect unprovided for his journey, he left Oxford in the evening, to travel up to London. He took a by-road, and to that circumstance owed his escape from persons already commissioned to apprehend him. Most probably it was the road to Cleves, for thither he is said to have gone, in search of Parkhurst, whom he found already fled to London, and almost to have perished in the snow. That he did nearly perish on the way from Oxford to London, is certain: he was found lying on the earth in

a state of complete exhaustion, by one Augustine Berner, once a servant of Latimer, and at the time in holy orders, and by him carried on his horse to the house of Lady Warcop, a hospitable and pious widow residing in the neighborhood. There the poor fugitive met with a kind reception; and when completely recovered, was forwarded, without cost or further trouble, to his journey's end.

At London, Jewell remained some time in concealment at different places, until by the intervention of Giles Lawrence, (a fellow collegian, and subsequently the preacher of his funeral sermon,) he was provided with the means of escape to the continent, by the bounty of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, then a privy counsellor, and afterwards distinguished by several foreign embassies under Elizabeth.

He arrived safely at Frankfort in Germany, and was joyfully received by a number of his countrymen who had preceded him in voluntary exile for conscience' sake. Among their first cares was the administration of Christian reproof to a brother whose weakness had disgraced the common cause by tergiversation in the hour of trial. Chambers, Jewell's Oxford benefactor, and Sampson, afterwards eminent among the Puritans, admonished him, in the name of the rest, that it was his duty by a public recantation of his subscription, and acknowledgment of its criminality, to make the only amends now in his power. To Sandys, at that time his chamber-fellow, and afterwards his colleague in the Episcopate, Jewell frankly declared, the same evening, that he would freely comply with their advice—that he had already resolved on the same steps, of his own accord—intimating that his conscience would never be at rest till he had done it. Accordingly, on the very next occasion of public worship he preached, and concluded his sermon with a full confession of his fault; attributing it to 'his abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made his weak hand commit that wickedness,' and begging forgiveness of God and of his brethren with such humble earnestness and evident contrition as to move the whole audience to tears, and to raise himself higher than ever in their esteem,

Jewell did not stay long at Frankfort. Peter Martyr, who had escaped from England in the beginning of the troubles, and had not forgotten his friend and pupil, pressed him with such urgent and repeated solicitations to remove to Strasburgh, where he was then Professor, that he at length complied, and, more fortunate than his companions in exile, found a peaceful and happy home in the family of his bosom friend. In requital for this hospitality, Jewell rendered material services to his host. Martyr was at the time reading lectures on the book of Judges, which his guest assisted him to prepare for publication. The lectures were delivered in the morning, from brief notes or sketches. Jewell's readiness in shorthand writing enabled him to commit them to paper nearly as uttered by the professor. After the conclusion of the lecture, they compared their notes. The afternoon was spent by Jewell in transcribing his corrected copy fairly for the press.

In 1566, Martyr accepted an invitation to fill the Hebrew professorship at Zurich, and was accompanied thither by his guest. There Jewell filled the station of clerk, or reader, to his benefactor; being employed not only to take notes of his lectures as before, but also, in the afternoons, to read aloud from the writings of some of the fathers—generally AUGUSTINE, of whom both were peculiarly fond.

Both at Strasburgh and at Zurich, Jewell associated with numbers of his countrymen, like him fugitives from persecution, and most of them, like him, subsequently distinguished. Sir John Cheke, the eminent Greek scholar; Sir Anthony Cooke; Sir Richard Morison; Sir Peter Carey; Sir Thomas Worth; Poynt, at the time bishop of Winchester; Grindal, afterward archbishop of York; and Thomas Heaton, a London merchant, by whose liberality most of the others were supported in their exile; were among his intimates at Strasburgh. Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham; Humphrey, Jewell's biographer; and ten others of less note, who boarded with them at a common table in the house of Froschover, the printer, were his companions at Zurich.—Sandys, afterward bishop of London; Horne, afterward bishop of Winchester; Whitehead, the noted Puritan; Sir Francis Knollys, subsequently

lord treasurer, and his son; were among those who had first received him on his arrival at Frankfort.— With all these, in his successive changes of residence, not only the claims of fellow-citizenship, and the stronger tie of community in suffering for a common faith, but reputation for learning and talents, joined with unusual facility and suavity of manners, secured to Jewell a most favorable reception. It is greatly to his honor, that, connected as he was with the residents at each of the three principal places of retreat for the English exiles, he escaped entanglement in the unhappy dissensions which broke out so early, and raged so bitterly, among them. His only interference, (if, indeed he interfered at all,*) was to exhort his brethren to lay aside their contentions, and to warn them of the ill consequences which must result.

Jewell's friendships commenced during his four years of exile, were by no means limited to his associates in misfortune. Beside Peter Martyr, he formed intimacies with Bullinger, Simler, Herman, Zanchius, Walter, Gesner, Lavater (the son-in-law of Zuingli), Wolf, and Haller; all divines of learning, and eminent among that branch of Protestants known as the *Reformed* or *Zuinglians*. From expressions in the correspondence which he kept up with Martyr and Bullinger to the end of his life, it is evident that with most of these associates he contracted a strong mutual attachment. Their respect for him was testified in various ways long after he had quitted his temporary asylum. We find Simler dedicating to him his life of Martyr, in 1563; and Lavater and Bullinger paying similar compliments, at a still later period. On the other hand Jewell's affection showed itself, not only in his frequent letters, but in presents and pensions, which he contrived to save out of his scanty episcopal revenues, and remit to individuals whom he deemed in need. His correspondence with Martyr and Bullinger, in particular, was of the most confidential character: in it his occupations, his views of the state and prospects of religion, and his

* FEATLY says that he did, while resident at Zurich, and to the effect stated in the text. But he appears to have inferred this, without sufficient reason, from a sentence of HUMPHREY, whom he generally translates, and sometimes misrepresents.

opinions of men and measures, are so fully stated, that to the portion which has been preserved and published we are indebted for a very large share of our information concerning the religious history of the first years of Elizabeth. He laid open to them all his difficulties and all his fears; consulted them on the delicate questions of duty and expediency, which were continually arising; and not unfrequently even asked and obtained assistance in the prosecution of his studies.^f

The death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, on the 17th of November, 1558, were the joyful signal of return to the exiles. Jewell was not among the earliest revisitants of his country, and the date of his arrival in England is uncertain. That he met his old tutor, Parkhurst, at Strasburgh, on his way home; that he had an unusually long passage, being fifty-seven days on his journey from Zurich; and that he arrived in time to be appointed one of the disputants in the famous conference between the Romish and Protestant Divines, held during the sitting of Parliament, in March, 1558-9, is all that is known.

He found England, by his own account, in 'a worse state than he expected: the Pope not yet expelled: no part of religion restored: the mass every where predominant: the pomp and insolence of the bishops the same as before the reformation. Yet all this beginning to change, and displaying indications of a rapid downfall.' Of the queen's disposition he speaks favorably, as prudent, courageous, and pious, though impeded by her counsellors, and still more by the pertinacious adherence of the bishops to their old faith.'—The queen's proclamation of Dec. 30th, 1558, had forbidden any immediate alteration in the state of religion, or innovation in rites or ceremonies; sanctioning only, for the present, the use of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Epistle and Gospel, in the English language—which was accordingly commenced on the ensuing Sunday, Jan. 1, 1558-9; and had made provision for a revision of the Liturgy. This revision had

^f A letter to Bullinger is extant, in which he asks for information in several of the most difficult points discussed between HARDING and himself in the *Confutation* and *Defence*.

been made : and it was with a view to facilitate the introduction of the new form of service, that a disputation between nine divines of either contending party, to be conducted in writing, in the English language, before the members of the Council and both houses of Parliament, in the church of Westminster, was appointed to be held on the 13th of March, 1558-9. The points to be discussed were : 1, the lawfulness of prayers in the vulgar tongue ; 2, the power of the Church to change rites and ceremonies ; and 3, the scriptural authority for the sacrifice of the Mass : all having an immediate bearing upon the contemplated measure. It may be presumed that the most able men among the favourers of the new opinions were selected to advocate their cause on this occasion : the association of Jewell's name in the list of the nine reformed divines, with those of Scory, Coxe, Whitehead, Sandys, Grindal, Horne, Aylmer, and Guest, is no slight testimony to the estimation in which he was held. The conference was, however, attended with no direct result. The Romish divines refused to adhere to the regulations prescribed, to which they had previously assented ; and after two meetings, in which a temperate and able treatise on the first question in dispute, read in behalf of the Reformers by Horne, was answered with vehement vituperation and childish reasoning in an extempore speech by Dr. Cole, it was broken up, and two of the Romish bishops committed to the Tower for contumacious and insolent behaviour.—A discourse upon the second question, which had been prepared by the Reformers, and though not handed in, is still extant, has been attributed, on internal evidence, to the pen of Jewell. Its style sufficiently resembles his, except that it is less diffuse—which may be accounted for by the *occasion*, requiring brevity, and by the revision which it no doubt received from his coadjutors. Be this as it may, it is certain from his correspondence with Martyr, that he took a lively interest in this conference ; and from a passage in one of his sermons, it appears that he regretted its interruption, and even wished for a renewal.⁵

⁵ Sermon, p. 207, as quoted by STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 95.

From this time, Jewell was wholly occupied in the advancement of the work of reformation, and the settlement of the doctrines and worship of the Church of England upon a firm and solid basis.

In April, he joined with other leading divines in presenting to the queen a set of articles containing an account of their faith, drawn up, according to his own representation to Peter Martyr, in close adherence to the confession of the Reformers of Zurich.^a

In the following month, after the dissolution of Parliament, it was resolved to set on foot a visitation of all parts of the kingdom by special commissions, for the purpose of discovering and rectifying ecclesiastical errors and abuses: the vacancy of a majority of the bishoprics, by death, and the determined opposition of all the surviving occupants of sees to the reformation, rendering such a measure absolutely necessary. The preparation of instructions for the commissioners was a work of no small importance, as it involved, in a measure, the settlement of the plan upon which all subsequent proceedings were to be conducted. It accordingly excited much discussion, in which we find from Jewell's correspondence that he was both deeply interested and actively engaged. He warmly opposed, both the use of images, which the queen was inclined to retain, with certain restrictions and explanations; and the enforcement of the use of the surplice, and of the cape and hood, according to their respective degrees, upon the officiating clergy. With relation to the former point, the strenuous and firm remonstrances of the leading Protestant divines prevailed so far that the 'Articles and Injunctions' were silent upon the subject. As to the other, the result was different.

The exiles during Mary's reign had, without exception, returned to England indisposed for the use of the distinctions in habit,ⁱ which it was proposed to enjoin.

^a "Ne minimo quidem apice discessimus a Confessione Tigurina." Ep. in STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 114, ss.

ⁱ It does not appear that in the beginning of the differences, any objection was taken to the use of the surplice alone. Hooper, one of the earliest, if not the first, who expressed conscientious scruples on the score of dress, objected to the episcopal robes: and if they were such as described by STRYPE (*Annals*, I. 255,) as "scarlet lined, and

Some among them had imbibed conscientious scruples, grounded on a supposed connexion with Popery and contrariety to the simplicity of the Gospel. Jewell, and many others, while they had no such scruples, were equally strenuous against the enforcement of the habits; partly out of regard for their weaker brethren, but principally on the score of the manifest impropriety of 'tithing mint and cumin' by rigidly exacting conformity in matters of so little real importance, while the 'weightier matters of the law' so imperiously required undivided attention and the combination of the energies and zeal of all. But these salutary counsels did not prevail. Conformity with prescribed rules of dress^k was one of the requisitions which the commissioners were directed to enforce; and Jewell indignantly complained to his German friends, that, while he and those who agreed with him in opinion were excluded from the queen's counsels, matters hardly worthy of discussion except in jest, 'were seriously and gravely pondered; as if the religion of CHRIST could not stand without a parcel of rags.' "We," he concludes, "are not so free from more important cares, as to be able to set such value on these trifles."^l It is, indeed, no wonder that men filled with distracting anxiety relative both to the event of the proceedings on religious matters and to their own concerns, should have felt vexed at petty enactments about hoods and capes which hardly deserve a milder epithet than 'superlatively ridiculous!'

Yet, however little respect may have been paid to Jewell's opinions in the preparation for the approaching visitation, his honourable standing in the estimation

hoods down their backs of miniver," his dislike is not surprising. In the articles brought into the lower house of Convocation, in 1562-3, by those who were afterwards the Puritans, the *surplice* is declared 'sufficient,' evidently on the ground that the objections lay against the additions—the cape and hood; and ministers are forbidden to say service except 'in a comely garment or habit.' STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 299 s.

^k The vestments enjoined were: 1, a long gown, close at the hands, with no cape—to be worn on all occasions: 2, a sarcenet tippet, to be assumed by dignitaries, on going abroad: 3, a square cap, to be worn except when travelling.—So worthless was the cause of the dispute!

^l Letter No. 50 in the Appendix to BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*, Vol. III.

of men in power was evinced by his appointment to a principal share in the execution; and, on the other hand, his acceptance of the appointment proved that his opposition to the injunction concerning vestments had arisen from dislike to the measure, and fear of its consequences, rather than principle or conscientious scruple.^a

The commissioners intrusted with the visitation were chiefly laymen. The kingdom was apportioned among several committees, in each of which there was one clerical member. Jewell held this place in the committee appointed to visit the dioceses of Sarum, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester—a district including Devonshire, his own native county.^a The method of visitation was by progress through the district, holding sittings at every principal town, and making the requisite examinations and inquiries relative to the neighbouring parishes, both in writing, and by personal inspection. Jewell's committee began this progress on the 1st of August, 1559, and were occupied in its prosecution until the 30th of October; travelling more than seven hundred miles in the interval.

Before undertaking this laborious task, Jewell preached at Paul's cross^o on the 18th of June,—a duty

^a Not only Sandys (like Jewell, an exile,) but even Parker, seems, by an expression in a letter of the former to him, to have been inclined to oppose the distinctions in the habits; at least, to wish them *not imposed*. STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 84. From the same passage it appears that the order to retain them until the queen's further pleasure, was the work of the queen's lay-counsellors; no doubt, in subservience to the inclinations of their mistress.

^a FEATLY quaintly remarks, that "it fell out fitly that he presented the first-born of his labours in the ministry, after his return from exile, in Devonshire, and parts adjacent; there first breaking the bread of life, where he first received the breath of life." *Life*, prefixed to JEWELL'S *Works*, fol. 1611, p. 8.

^o This was a 'pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone,' in the churchyard of St. Paul's. It had been a custom, almost from time immemorial, to have a sermon preached there every Sunday morning by some eminent divine; 'at which the court and magistrates of the city, beside a vast concourse of people, usually attended.' It was a place of great resort for persons of every class and character; to such a degree, that the crowd and bustle were sometimes complained of, as disturbing the preacher, and making him forget his matter.

Of course, in the progress of the reformation, an opportunity such as this afforded for gaining the popular ear, was not to be neglected; and

at the time considered as the very championship of the reformation, and committed to none but the most learned and eloquent divines. The appointment was, therefore, no small honour, and an evidence of his growing reputation. Parkhurst had long before remarked, when struck with the acuteness of some observation made by Jewell during one of their collations of the English versions of the New Testament, 'Surely, Paul's cross will one day ring of this boy!' He little thought how literally he should live to see his prediction verified!

A still higher testimony to Jewell's worth was given him, just before the commencement of the visitation, by his nomination to the vacant bishopric of Salisbury. There is no evidence in his correspondence, or in the records of his life, that he had any intimacy with the leading men at court. On the contrary, the frequent intimations in his letters of discontent with their measures, and exclusion from their counsels, seem to show that for some months after his return, at least, he had very little direct intercourse with the court and counsellors of Elizabeth. Yet his merits forced their way to notice and trust. Duty after duty was committed to him, until six short months saw the homeless^p wanderer exalted to one of the highest dignities of his calling.

This burthensome and responsible office was not accepted without some hesitation. In a letter dated the first of August, mentioning the fact of his nomination, he adds, 'which burthen I am utterly determined to throw off.'^q Possibly the delay of his election by

either party, as they alternately came in power, were careful to provide their ablest men, to promulgate and defend their opinions at *Paul's Cross*.

^p On his return from exile, he was three months indebted for an asylum to Nicholas Culverwell, a citizen, living in Thames-street, London: he was then sent for by Lord Williams, of Thame, who was sick, and wished the benefit of his company; there he staid until the visitation commenced. STRYPE, *Annals*. I. 131.

^q "Quod ego onus prorsus decrevi excutere." *Ep. ad. P. Mart.*—HUMPHREY relates that while hesitating, he more than once expressed himself, in one of the serious puns then so fashionable—that whoever desires the episcopal office desires *opus* (a work) not *operatum* (already wrought), but *operantis* (of a labourer)—alluding to the Latin

the chapter until the 21st of August is to be attributed to this hesitancy on his part.—There was, indeed, little to be desired in the station offered him. A clergy almost wholly opposed to the Reformation, even to the extent of abstaining from their public functions rather than comply with the queen's injunctions ;—the people, though well disposed to the Reformation, ignorant in the extreme, and prone to rash violence, or fanatical excesses ;—the discharge of his office shackled with conditions distressing to his conscience and his zeal, and burthened with uncongenial duties, and the enforcement of prescriptions obnoxious in the extreme to some in other respects agreeing with him in opinion, and enjoying his affection and esteem ;—the affairs of his diocese distracted by the successive changes of the last twenty years ;—the revenues of his see, and livings in his diocese, embezzled to glut the rapacity of the last incumbent,* and still further diminished by the greedy avarice of the queen and her minions, intent upon plundering the ecclesiastical state to the utmost of their power :—these were circumstances sufficient to produce in any man a disinclination for the promotion of which they were to be accompaniments. How Jewell's objections were overcome, does not appear : but the manner in which the arduous duties of the office, once undertaken, were discharged, affords sufficient ground for judgment of the motives which induced his assent.

The visitation begun while yet in doubt concerning this momentous question, was regarded by Jewell himself, in prospect, as 'a long and difficult business,' and fully realized his anticipations. Inured as he was to

version of 1 Tim. iii. 1, and to the Romish doctrine of 'opus operatum' in the Sacraments. The apothegm shows his sense of the high office which he ultimately accepted—a post of labour, not of 'otium cum dignitate.'

* JEWELL, *Lett. to P. Martyr*, Aug. 1, 1559.

• In reply to a letter of advice from Humphrey, urging him to gather around himself a band of learned and able assistants in the work of spreading gospel-truth, Jewell declared that he would most gladly do so, but wanted the means ; the Capon (that was the name of his predecessor) having devoured all, by either giving away or selling the dignities and benefices of his diocese, and leaving it entirely bare. HUMFREDI *Vita Juellii*, p. 109.

labors and privations, he complained on his return of the fatigues he had experienced—fatigues not a little enhanced by the nature of the business in which he was engaged, and by the melancholy state of things which the researches of the visitors brought to light. A great increase of superstition—an astonishing multitude and variety of its preposterous manifestations and implements, votive offerings and relics—a general aversion in the ecclesiastics to every species of reform—and gross corruptions practised and encouraged in the cathedrals; are mentioned by Jewell as the predominating characteristics of the scenes in which he had been conversant. He adds an item which must be mentioned with regret, as one of the weaknesses into which even the greatest sometimes fall, as if to show that they are but fallible mortals—the prevalence of witchcraft and incantations, of which he speaks in such terms as plainly show that he firmly believed in their reality: indeed, so deep was the impression made on him by these supposed abominations, that he embraced an early opportunity of mentioning them in a sermon before the queen, and is supposed to have been mainly instrumental in the passage of the law of 1562, which, for the first time in England, made sorcery a penal offence.¹—It is gratifying to turn from this blemish to the record of the diligence with which Jewell exerted himself, in the course of this fatiguing routine of inquisitorial duties, to displace error by imparting truth—literally ‘preaching the word in season and out of season, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting with all long-suffering,’ and ‘in meekness instructing those that opposed themselves;’ and to the candor with which, relating the expulsion of some minor dignitaries by the visitors, and mentioning Hard-

¹ STYKE, *Annals*, I. p. 6.—Jewell's expression in his account of his visitation to P. Martyr is, “magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat.” The passage in his sermon before the queen, is to be found in his *Works*, folio, p. 204.—It must be observed, in extenuation of his weakness, that it was the common belief of his day—so much so, that the prevalence of ‘witchcraft, sorcery, incantations, and magical arts,’ was a subject of inquiry at the visitations of several of his contemporary bishops; and that after all, the acts specified appear to have worn the aspect rather of a political crime—a species of conspiracy against the existing government—than of a spiritual transgression.

ing as among their number, he characterized that bitter opponent as 'a constant man, who preferred losing his place to changing his opinion.'^a

While occupied in these duties, Jewell was elected bishop of Salisbury, on the 21st of August, as stated above. Yet some time elapsed before he assumed the office and its duties, even subsequently to his return to London, which was on the 30th of October. His letters during that interval show that he was by no means satisfied with all the measures of the men in power. He complains of the disposition to humor the Romish clergy, by attaching undue importance to the regulations concerning vestments—of the pertinacious adherence of the lower ecclesiastics to their darling rites and superstitions, and the slight efforts made for their subversion—and of the miserable condition of the universities. He even dissuaded Peter Martyr from accepting an invitation to return to England, on the ground that his efforts to do good would be thwarted, and himself neglected, if not discountenanced.^v—But, notwithstanding these subjects of discontent, his usefulness continued, and his reputation grew. On the 26th of November, he preached a second time at St. Paul's cross; when it is expressly mentioned that 'his fame drew together a very great auditory.'^w and again, on the 5th of December, he preached at the funeral of the dutchess of Suffolk; an appointment which was considered very honourable, and was so fulfilled as to win much commendation from the hearers.^z

The royal assent to his election was at length given, on the 27th of December: it was confirmed on the 18th of January 1559–60; and on the 21st he was consecrated, at the same time with Young, bishop of St. David's, Bullingham of Lincoln, Davis of St. Asaph, and Guest, (one of the revisers of the Book of Common Prayer, and a fellow disputant with Jewell in the conference of March, 1559,) of Rochester.^y Still, although

^a "Homo constans locum mutare maluit, quam sententiam." *Ep. ad. P. Mart.* Nov. 2, 1559.

^v *Letters to P. Martyr*, of Nov. 2d, 5th, and 16th, 1559.

^w STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 137.

^z STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 193 s.

^y Parkhurst, Jewell's old tutor, was at that time bishop elect of Norwich, but was not consecrated until July 14th.

the spiritual grade was thus conferred, the royal recognition, accompanied with what is called the Restitution of the Temporalities, had not yet taken place; and so ill were the due limits of civil power in things spiritual then defined, that Jewell did not yet consider himself certain of the enjoyment of his new dignity. Only a fortnight after his consecration, he writes to P. Martyr, that the retention of a crucifix in the queen's private chapel had given rise to much dispute, and was regarded with alarm by the warmest friends of reformation, as tending to warrant greater abuses; that a formal disputation was to be held on the subject, in which Parker and Cox (then bishop of Ely) would defend the queen's practice, while he and Grindal should oppose it; and that for this step he expected to lose his bishopric. So precarious did he even then think its tenure! and so little did the dignity of office weigh with him, in opposition to the love of truth, and a sense of duty!

It is not recorded whether the proposed disputation was ever held. At all events the anticipated result did not take place. Jewell was enthroned at Salisbury on the 6th of March, and had restitution of the temporalities of his see on the 6th of April, 1560.*

In the interval between these formalities occurred one of the most important events of Jewell's life—certainly that which more than any other contributed to bring him before the nation as the boldest and most uncompromising of the foes of Rome—his challenge at Paul's cross.* On the 17th of March, 1559–60, he

* These dates are derived from RYMER's *Acta*, as quoted by Mr. ISAACSON.

* There is a very curious difficulty attending the date of this celebrated sermon. HUMPHREY, Jewell's earliest biographer—STRYPE—and the printed copy of the sermon itself, agree in asserting that it was preached on *the second Sunday before Easter*, in the year 1560. The published correspondence between Dr. Cole and Jewell, to which it gave occasion, bears evidence that it was preached on Sunday the 17th of March, before the court; since in COLE's first letter, dated the 18th, he speaks of it as 'preached yesterday in the court.'—In themselves, these dates do not appear necessarily inconsistent. But, 1) STRYPE mentions Jewell's sermon on the 17th of March before the court, and that on the second Sunday before Easter at Paul's cross, as distinct performances:—2) all authorities represent the challenge at Paul's cross, as given in the year 1560; now the computation of time used in Jewell's day, and followed by STRYPE and HUMPHREY, com-

preached at that place, before the court; in his episcopal robes. The sermon was directed against the master error of the Church of Rome, its perversion of the sacrament of the Eucharist; and in particular, against its celebration in the Latin tongue, its administration in one kind, its proposition for adoration by the people, and its use by the priest alone, or in the form of private masses. These points discussed, the preacher concluded with the following offer: "If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor or father, or out of any old General Council, or out of the Scriptures of God—or any one example of the primitive Church—whereby it may be clearly proved, that there was any Private Mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after CHRIST; Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind; Or that the people had their Common Prayers then in a strange tongue, that they understood not; Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an Universal Bishop, or the Head of the universal Church; Or that the people was then taught to believe that CHRIST's body is really, substantially, carnally or naturally, in the sacrament; Or that his body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more at one time; Or that the

men^ded the year with the 22d of March; which would make a sermon preached on the 17th fall in 1559, not 1560:—and, 3) Easter day, in the year 1560, came on the 7th of April; which would make the 17th of March the *third*, not the *second* Sunday before Easter.—The account given in the printed sermon itself, and closely followed in the text, though, as far as I know, never before observed, reconciles these seeming contradictions. It plainly shows that the *challenge* was made at two several times, in sermons of similar purport and construction; that when *first* made, it contained only fifteen articles; that clamors were immediately raised against it; and that Jewell then *repeated* it, *adding* twelve more articles, thus completing the number usually mentioned. The controversy with COLE was *begun* on occasion of the *first* sermon; but the superior celebrity of the *second*, delivered on a public occasion; and the fact that Jewell chose it, *as the most complete*, for publication; have always kept the other out of sight.

Mr. ISAACSON, (*Life*, p. xlv.) followed by MIDDLETON, (*Memoirs of the Reformers*, III. 363,) has committed the double error of placing the sermon at Paul's cross on the *Sunday before Easter*, and dating that Sunday March 30th—the very day on which Jewell wrote his answer to Dr. Cole's second letter, and withal, a Saturday.

'priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head ;
 'Or that the people did then fall down and worship it
 'with godly honour ; Or that the sacrament was then, or
 'now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy ; Or that
 'in the sacrament after the words of consecration there
 'remaineth only the accidents and shows, without the
 'substance, of bread and wine ; Or that the priest then
 'divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterward
 'received himself all alone ; or that whosoever had said
 'the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a
 'remembrance, of CHRIST's body, had therefore been
 'judged for a heretic ; Or that it was lawful then to have
 '30, 20, 15, 10, or 5 masses said in one church, in one
 'day ; Or that images was then set up in the churches,
 'to the intent the people might worship them ; Or that
 'the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of
 'God in their own tongue :—if any man alive be able to
 'prove any of these articles by any one clear or plain
 'clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the
 'old doctors, or of any old General Council, or by any
 'example of the primitive Church ; I promise that I will
 'give over and subscribe unto him."^b

The very next day brought an answer to this bold
 challenge, and thus commenced the series of controver-
 sies in which Jewell continued involved, almost to his
 dying day. Dr. HENRY COLE,^c a zealous and distin-
 guished papist, in a letter breathing the very spirit of

^b Thus the *first* challenge is recapitulated in the second sermon, as
 printed in his *Works*, p. 58.

^c COLE had already made himself infamously eminent by the part
 he took in the disgraceful scene called a disputation, between himself
 and his fellow judges, and Cranmer and Ridley, in the divinity school
 at Oxford; and by preaching the sermon at the martyrdom of the
 archbishop. He had also been the prominent man in the conference
 in March 1558-9, where, however, neither his abilities nor his learn-
 ing appeared to much advantage.

He was admitted fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1523; studied
 civil law; and subsequently travelled several years in Italy. In 1542,
 he was chosen Warden of his college. During the reign of Edward he
 professed much attachment to the Reformation, attended the lectures
 of Peter Martyr, and even preached the reformed doctrine. In 1544,
 (the 2d of Mary,) he was made Provost of Eton College, and D. D.;
 and was soon after appointed one of the commissioners to visit Cam-
 bridge with inquisitorial powers and office. The Deanery of St.
 Paul's was conferred on him in 1556, but taken from him again soon
 after the conference in 1558-9. He died a prisoner on parole in 1579.

Jesuitry—apparent moderation, but real duplicity, solicited Jewell to commence an argument, but artfully endeavored to throw on him the burden of proof; thus escaping the very gist of the challenge—an actual test of the whole strength of Popery. Jewell answered the allegations and charges contained in the letter, and showed the unfairness of its proposition, in a reply dated the 20th. The next Sunday, being the second Sunday before Easter, March 24th, 1560, he resumed the argument of the sermon delivered that day week, entered more fully into his discussion, and in conclusion, remarking on the fact that objections had been taken to his former challenge, he recapitulated that offer with the following remarkable addition:—“These words are ‘the very like, I remember, I spake here openly before ‘you all—and these be the things that some men say I have ‘spoken, and cannot justify. But I for my part will ‘not only not call in any thing that I then said, (being ‘well assured of the truth therein,) but also will lay ‘more matter to the same; that if they that seek occasion, have any thing to the contrary, they may have ‘the larger scope to reply against me.

‘Wherefore, besides all that I have said already, I ‘will say further—and yet nothing so much as might ‘be said—If any one of all our adversaries be able ‘clearly and plainly to prove, by such authority of the ‘Scriptures, the old doctors, and Councils, as I said before, That it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence ‘to himself; Or that the priest had then authority to ‘offer up CHRIST unto his FATHER; Or to communicate ‘and receive the sacrament for another as they do; Or ‘to apply the virtue of CHRIST’s death and passion ‘to any man by the means of the mass; Or that it was ‘then thought a sound doctrine, to teach the people, ‘that the Mass *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that ‘it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our ‘sin; Or that then any Christian man called the sacrament his LORD and GOD; Or that the people was then ‘taught to believe that the body of CHRIST remaineth ‘in the sacrament as long as the accidents remain there ‘without corruption; Or that a mouse, or any other ‘worm or beast, may eat the body of CHRIST, (for so

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'some of our adversaries have said and taught;) Or that
'when CHRIST said *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word
'*Hoc* pointeth not the bread, but *individuum vagum*,
'as some of them say; Or that the accidents, or forms,
'or shows, or bread and wine, be the sacrament of
'CHRIST's body and blood, and not rather the very bread
'and wine itself; Or that the sacrament is a sign or
'token of the body of CHRIST that lieth hidden under-
'neath it; Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of
'true devotion and obedience:—these be the highest
'mysteries and greatest keys of their religion, and
'without them their doctrine can never be maintained
'and stand upright:—if any one of all our adversaries
'be able to avouch any one of all these articles, by any
'such sufficient authority of Scriptures, doctors, or
'Councils, as I have required—as I said before, so say
'I now again, I am content to yield unto him, and to
'subscribe. But I am well assured that they shall never
'be able truly to allege one sentence. And because I
'know it, therefore I speak it, lest ye haply should be
'deceived."^a

Thus, in the very spirit of Paul,^e Jewell completed his "FAMOUS CHALLENGE," in *twenty-seven articles*, and stood forth before the world the pledged defender of the Protestant faith as opposed to the corruptions of Rome.

The correspondence with Dr. COLE, its immediate result, continued. Three letters passed on either side, and after private circulation for some time, were collected by Jewell, and published, toward the close of the year, together with the sermon that occasioned them, written from memory as it was preached the second time.^f

^a *Sermon at Paul's Cross, &c.—Works* p. 58.

^e Compare 2 Cor. iv. 13—15.

^f The work was entitled, *True Copies of the Letters between the Rev. Father John, Bishop of Sarum, and D. Cole, upon occasion of a Sermon preached by the Bishop before the Queen, &c.* London, Day, 1560, 8vo. The Sermon was also published separately, in 8vo. without date.

In the letter which closed this correspondence, Jewell adopted the mode, afterwards continued in his controversies with HARDING, of inserting his adversary's piece at length, paragraph by paragraph, and immediately subjoining to each paragraph his own reply. A fairer, surely, never was devised!

But the interest and importance of this opening controversy were absorbed in those of greater magnitude which followed. After an interval of nearly four years, HARDING,⁵ Jewell's former schoolfellow, then a member of the college of Jesuits at Louvain, issued an elaborate production under the title of *An Answer to Mr. Jewell's Challenge*,⁶ in which he assumed the air of a triumphant defender of Rome's assaulted fortress. The time consumed in preparation indicates the effort made to provide at least a specious show of the evidence required by Jewell. Accordingly, the *Answer* was cried up as an irrefragable assertion of the faith of Rome, and under the shadow of its wings the minor assailants who had until then hung aloof from combat, ventured to come forth. RASTELL published his *Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr. Jewell at Paul's Cross*¹ the same year, and followed it up with a *Copy of a Challenge taken out of the Confutation, &c.*² the next. Early in 1565, HESKYNs³ issued his *Parliament of Christ, &c. concerning the Sacrament, impugned in a Sermon by John Jewell*,⁴ and NICHOLAS HARPEFIELD,

⁵ THOMAS (not, as ISAACSON and MIDDLETON erroneously call him, John) HARDING, was like Jewell, a native of Devonshire; was sometime a schoolfellow with him; and finally entered the same college. He was admitted fellow of New College in 1536, took his degree of M. A. in 1542, and was soon after appointed the first Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University. While Edward reigned he made much show of zeal for the Reformation, and even, in prospect of the young king's death, exhorted others to prepare for persecution. Yet on Mary's accession, he immediately recanted, and was rewarded with a prebendal stall in Winchester, and, in 1555, with the treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral. Of the latter post he was dispossessed under Jewell's visitation, being succeeded by John Lancaster, who had lost the bishopric of Kildare, in Ireland, under Mary, because he had a wife. Harding soon after retired to Louvain, and entered the Jesuits' college, where he employed himself in his controversial writings against Jewell—all that he ever published. He died, about the age of 60, at Antwerp, in 1572.

⁶ Printed at Louvain, in 4to., in 1564.

¹ Antwerp, 1564.

² Antwerp, 1565, 8vo.

³ He had been Chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury a few months in the close of 1558, but was displaced at the accession of Elizabeth. He then went beyond seas. WOOD, *Fasti*. p. 64.

⁴ Printed, like the foregoing, at Antwerp.

under the borrowed name of ALAN COPE;^a MARTIAL;[•] SAUNDERS; and STAPLETON, indirectly answered Jewell's challenge in works on other subjects.^p The intrepid challenger, in the meanwhile, was very far from idle: leaving the lesser assailants to other hands, he promptly met the most formidable antagonist, in his *Reply unto M. Harding's Answer, by perusing whereof the discreet and diligent reader may easily see the weak and unstable grounds of the Roman Religion, which of late hath been accounted Catholic*, folio, 1665;^q having previously laid open his intended plan, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, on the 8th of July.^r In this work he followed the method previously adopted in his correspondence with COLE—republishing all his adversary's remarks, and subjoining to each his own reply. Seldom has a single work united in itself more learning, close argument, and keen wit, than were displayed in this voluminous production; it is a complete and most masterly

^a This COPE was of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Proctor of the University in 1568. He left England in 1560, and going to Rome, became a Canon of St. Peter's Church. The book referred to under his name by JEWELL and HUMPHREY, was no doubt *Dialogi Sex contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticæ Vitæ, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum, Oppugnatores et Pseudo-Martyres*, Antw. 4to., 1566, which was written by HARPEFIELD, then in England, but published under the name of COPE, that the obloquy might fall on the latter, then abroad and out of harm's way.—WOOD.

[•] So HUMPHREY and WOOD spell the name.—JOHN MARTIAL, B. C. L. published *A Treatise of the Cross, gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church*, London, 1564, 8vo. It was answered by JOHN CALPHILL, an eminent Oxford scholar, and prominent member of the Convocation of 1562-3.—MARTIAL defended himself in a *Reply to M. Calphill's blasphemous Answer*, &c. 1566.

^p STAPLETON, indeed seems to have had Jewell alone in view, in his *Return of Untruths against M. Jewell*, published at Antwerp in 1566.—WOOD says that he settled himself at Louvain purposely to answer Jewell.

SAUNDERS' reply was contained in his *Treatise of the Images of Christ and his Saints, being a Confutation of Mr. Jewell's Reply upon that subject*.—Louvain, 1567, 8vo.

^q The 'Reply' was translated into Latin by the celebrated WHITAKER, and printed at Oxford in 1578, in 4to., and again in folio, at Cambridge, in 1585.

^r On which HARDING published some remarks under the title—*Answer touching certain Untruths Mr. Jewell charged him with in his late Sermon at Paul's Cross, 8th July, 1565*. Antwerp, 1566, 4to.

demolition of every thing brought by HARDING to meet the bold challenge of the author. The Romish champion, however, was not to be thus silenced. Many passages of his writings show that personal feeling intermingled itself in large proportion with attachment to his cause, and that jealousy of the junior schoolfellow who had so far outstripped him in the lists of fame and dignity, with ill-will to the Visiter who had joined in his deposition from his prebend, were not the least among his inducements to zeal and perseverance in controversy. With these feelings, he could not brook the manifest superiority in argument, and severely galling tone of calm and undisturbed confidence in the goodness of his cause, which appeared in Jewell's 'Reply.' No time was lost in the preparation of a 'Rejoinder,' the very title of which contains a sufficient indication of its bitterness of spirit:—*A Rejoinder to M. Jewell's Reply: by perusing whereof the discreet and diligent reader may easily see the answer to part of his insolent Challenge justified, and his Objections against the Mass, whereat the priest sometimes receiveth the holy mysteries without present company to receive with him, for that cause by Luther's School called Private Mass, clearly confuted*, Antwerp, 1566, 4to. This was followed up in 1567 by another *Rejoinder to Mr. Jewell's Reply against the Sacrifice of the Mass*, printed in 4to, at Louvain. I do not find that Jewell took any notice of either of these works. Probably their tone prevented him: following the rule afterwards laid down by his illustrious beneficiary, HOOKER, he would have found it impossible to answer books composed not of 'argument *and* railing,' but of 'railing *for* argument.'—Besides, he had found full employment in another and even more important controversy.

The history of his *Apology* has been already given in the Preface: it is sufficient, therefore, here to remark that the composition and publication of that work filled the interval between the termination of the correspondence with COLE and the appearance of HARDING's *Answer* to the challenge; and that the appearance of HARDING's *Confutation* of the *Apology*, in 1565, furnished full occupation for Jewell's whole leisure and abilities, until within about a year of his decease.

Of the utmost importance to the Church which he adorned, these controversial writings of Jewell gave him a full and undisputed title to the praise of being her most strenuous and efficient advocate. None could have accounted him idle, or unworthy of his office, had he devoted the ten years during which they appeared, to little else than the composition of so many and such voluminous productions on subjects requiring extensive research and cautious accuracy. Yet these were but the occupations of his *leisure* hours. During all this interval, the peculiar duties of his office in the Church were discharged as punctually and as thoroughly as if they alone had been his care.

After his consecration, he remained in the metropolis a few months, occasionally preaching, and probably occupied by his correspondence with Dr. COLE.* He took up his residence in his diocese in autumn, and with a slight interruption by a visit to London in the spring of 1561,[†] continued it until called to attend the Convocation of 1562-3.

This interval was spent in the most assiduous attention to the business of his diocese. He found every thing, at his entrance, in the most disordered state.—The revenues of the see diminished—its property dilapidated—the ecclesiastical courts filled with scandalous abuses—the cathedral chapter wholly corrupt and irregular—the livings of the diocese in the hands of laymen, or unworthy clergymen, fattening on accumulated pluralities, while their pulpits were unfilled, and their flocks famishing for want of the bread of life :—all these things required no common energy and zealous industry for their redress. Jewell set about the work without delay, and without neglecting any part of the varied mass of business.—Deeming himself bound to transmit the revenues of his see unimpaired to his successors, he was firm in resisting the numerous attempts at encroachment which it was the fashion of the times to make and countenance ; and extended the same care to the other

* It is certain, from one of his letters, that he had not gone to his diocese, May 22. The correspondence with COLE closed in July, and was published by Jewell in August. November 2, he had been in his diocese 'some time.' BURNET, *Hist. of Ref.* III. 293.

[†] He preached at St. Paul's April 13, 1561. STRYPE.

benefices under his control." Yet he was still more careful to show, by the manner in which he applied those revenues, that he considered himself but as a usufructuary, and strictly accountable to God and to the Church for their employment. The relief of the poor, the maintenance of needy students, the augmentation of insufficient livings in his diocese, the recompense of preachers to supply the more pressing wants of destitute parishes;—such were the objects to which he devoted his episcopal income, little diminished by the maintenance of his frugal household, and nothing by expenditure upon himself.

His doors were always open to the poor; and he was at all times ready to listen to their complaints, and, if in his power, afford or procure relief. His bounty to the needy among his foreign friends has already been mentioned. Even the prisons were objects of his watchful benevolence, which frequently provided necessaries for their suffering inmates.

The decay of learning, especially among the clergy, and the extreme want of well-educated pious men to fill the many vacant cures, was a common subject of lamentation at that period, among all who felt anxiety for the growth of true religion. Jewell continually introduces it in his sermons, with the most pathetic and stirring exhortations to all possessed of influence and wealth, to employ those gifts for the advancement of God's glory by the restoration of sound learning and the maintenance of a competent clergy. His own example was the best enforcement of these exhortations. Six poor youths were constantly maintained in his family, and educated under his own eye. His greatest—almost his only, recreation, was to witness their debates on the subjects of their studies, to moderate, and to assist, while he enjoyed his frugal meal. Beside these,

^u As an instance of this, it is related that a person at court, having by some means obtained the control of a prebend in Salisbury cathedral, and being anxious to transfer it to another layman, applied to Bishop Jewell for his confirmation of the project; adducing the opinions of several lawyers in its favor. 'What your lawyers may answer,' was the bishop's reply, 'I know not: but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss while I live.' *FEATLY'S Life*, p. 8.

several more were maintained at the University by his bounty, and fostered into piety and scholarship by his paternal counsels and supervision. The immortal HOOKER was among the number of these beneficiaries, from the very commencement of Jewell's bounties with his entrance on his office. Seven years he received from the good bishop a yearly pension for his schooling; and in 1567, was sent, under his patronage, to Oxford; the stipend being still continued, and eked out to a sufficient maintenance by college promotions, obtained by the bishop's interest.*

The administration of justice in the ecclesiastical and temporal courts, occupied no inconsiderable portion of Jewell's time. The former he did not think it right to intrust to his chancellor, the officer who presided as his representative; but in person investigated the abuses for

* IZAAK WALTON's simple narrative of the last interview of the young student with his kind protector, is too interesting to be omitted.

During the last year of Jewell's life, Hooker had been two months dangerously ill. "As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends: and at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the bishop said to him, 'Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and 'I thank God, with much ease;' and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany.—And he said, 'Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats, to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, my good Richard.'

"And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to college was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life."—WALTON's *Lives*, ed. ZOUCH, 4to. p. 212, s.

Which the so-called spiritual courts had become notorious, and applied the proper remedies as far as was in his power. In the temporal courts he deemed it his duty to be often present, in discharge of his official functions as a justice of the peace; though he is said to have seldom intermeddled, except when his opinion was asked concerning some religious or ecclesiastical matter.

But the purely spiritual duties of his office were those in which he most delighted, and to which he devoted the greatest portion of his time. To preach the word of God himself, and to see that it was preached by others in sincerity and power, he deemed the great business of his life, and acted up to that persuasion.—He suffered no opportunity of discharging this duty to pass unembraced; in his cathedral, in the parishes near his residence, in his frequent visitations of his diocese, in his visits to particular districts, nay even in the courts of justice, he was constantly employed in declaring and enforcing the word of God. His sermons at Paul's Cross—the watch-tower of the Church—have been already mentioned; they were continued, whenever he visited the metropolis, to the very year of his death. His frequent and earnest exhortations to his clergy, to candidates for orders, to communicants, and even to persons about to give evidence in court, are recorded by his biographer.^w A fragment of his stated courses of sermons on the nature and uses of the Sacraments, delivered in his cathedral church, is handed down to us in a posthumous work.^x His full and continuous expositions of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, delivered in the same way, are known only by name. In the *Expositions of the Epistles to the Thessalonians*,^y we have a specimen of the groundwork of his expository lectures on those epistles, Galatians, First Peter, a great part of the Book of Acts, and

^w HUMFREDI *Vita*, p. 110.

^x *A Treatise of the Sacraments, gathered out of certain Sermons, which the Reverend Father in GOD, Bishop Jewell, preached at Salisbury*, published, with thirteen entire sermons, 'preached before the Queen's Majesty, at Paul's Cross, and elsewhere,' by GARBRAND, in 1583.

^y These were, according to HUMPHREY, almost his latest occupation—'fere in Salsburiensi ecclesia postrema cantio.' They were not published until 1594, when they appeared in 8vo.

the Epistles and Gospels for all the Sundays and festivals in the year. The *Treatise of the Holy Scriptures*, and the *View of a Seditious Bull sent into England*, (the Bull of Pius IV. excommunicating and pretending to dethrone Elizabeth,) are additional relics of his indefatigable pastoral labours.

Great as those labours were, there was need of them all. 'In doing this work and treading this press,' says HUMPHREY in his quaint style, 'he was almost alone. He had few assistants in his diocese, who either could or would share his labours. So great was the scarcity of faithful evangelists; so extreme the want of labourers in the LORD's vineyard!' It was when exhorted to procure assistance in these arduous exertions, and reminded of Jethro's advice to Moses, that he made the reply already quoted, pleading the insufficiency of his revenues to procure substitutes on whom a portion of his personal labours might be devolved.

Such were the occupations in the midst of which he composed those controversial writings that have perpetuated his fame, and raised an imperishable monument to his learning and his talents.

The Convocation in 1562-3 caused a considerable interruption in Jewell's pastoral labours. It is certain that he took an active part in its proceedings; although what that part was, is not recorded. He was one of the compilers of the second Book of Homilies, but which are from his pen has not been specified. Whether he was concerned in the revision of the Articles is uncertain, although the part assigned him in their official publication in 1571,^{*} renders it probable that he was. It is equally unascertained whether he was one of the translators of what is called the Bishop's Bible, from its having been the production of several of the bishops under the direction of Archbishop Parker.

After his return from the Convocation he appears to have been closely resident in his diocese until July 1565.^a

^{*} He moved in the Convocation of 1571, the printing of an authentic copy of the Articles, under its authority. The motion passed, and he was directed to superintend its execution.

^a So closely, that in a letter to Bullinger, after stating that he is kept busy with the attacks of the Papists, he declares that it is two years

is occupied in this interval with a thorough visitation of his diocese, in which he personally examined all officiating clergy, gave them directions for their lives and conduct, and even in some cases prescribed rules of Scripture, and religious tracts, to be committed to memory by the more ignorant. The *Reply to Bullinger's Answer* to his Challenge was the fruit of these moments, during these avocations.

His visit to London in 1565 appears to have been for the purpose of committing the *Reply* to the press. It was followed by an excursion to Oxford, where Jewell enjoyed the distinguished honor of preaching in the Divinity Schools in the exercises on occasion of the Queen's visit, August 31; and was at the same time created Doctor of Divinity.

His attention appears, from his letters, to have been occupied about this time with the increasing difficulties relative to the vestments. He continued in his opinion of the worthlessness of the subject of dispute, and freely expressed his own 'wish that every, even the least, vestige of Popery were removed from the churches, and much more from men's minds.' Yet he did not but regard the clamorous discontent of the divines with disapprobation: 'some brethren,' says he, 'talk about it, as if the whole of their religion consisted in one point;' and adds, that such persons 'rather desert their functions, and leave churches empty, than depart from their opinions, and refuse to be moved by the learned writings of the foreign divines.' Consistently

—
 e time which had elapsed since the Convocation) since he had severed from his old associates and intimates, Parkhurst, Hooper, and Sandys, Lever, or Chambers.

The Preface is dated the 6th of August. The sermon in which he announced its publication, and recapitulated its arguments, was preached on the 8th of July preceding.

Letter to Bullinger, Feb. 8, 1566.

Letter to Bullinger, Feb. 24, 1567.—The Swiss divines had been opposed by both parties on this matter. P. Martyr and Bucer, contrary to the bishops, expressed themselves decidedly in favour of the vestments. Bullinger and Walter—appealed to, with much impolicy by Sampson and Humphrey, leaders of the Puritans, in behalf of the whole body—expressed themselves almost with contempt for the controversy; seeming no to like the vestments, but declaring, without hesitation, that they were things indifferent—no cause for contention.

with these views, we find him, in a letter to Archbishop Parker, dated Dec. 22, 1565, refusing to admit Humphrey, (who, although one of the steadiest, if not the most zealous, among the Puritans, was Jewell's warm personal friend, and afterward his biographer,) to a living in the diocese of Salisbury which had been given him by their mutual friend Horne, bishop of Winchester—on the ground of his conduct relative to the vestments, which Jewell calls 'a vain contention,' and adds that 'long sufferance' of such as Humphrey 'bred great offence.'

In these sentiments the good bishop was rather confirmed than shaken by reflection and experience. One of the latest of his public acts was a sermon preached at Paul's Cross during the Convocation in 1571, from *Rom. xii. 16, 17, 18*, in which he warmly reproved the Puritans:—in what spirit, let the reader judge from its closing paragraphs.

'O, ye that sometime were brethren, but now mortal enemies—ye that sometime ware this badge, this cognizance of CHRIST's peace, which now ye have cast from you: O how long will you dwell in dissension? I have done my part; I have called you to peace, I have called you to love, I have called you to unity: do you now your parts; do you ensue after peace, love you each other, continue ye in unity together. I have not the keys of your hearts; I am not able to loose and open those stony hearts of yours: God make you all one,

* STRYPE, *Annals*, I. 421.—GRINDAL, then bishop of London, explains the seeming inconsistency between his own and Jewell's occasional expressions of dislike to the vestments, and their conduct toward the Puritans, in a letter to Bullinger, Aug. 27, 1566. "We," he says, "who are now bishops, on our first return, before we assumed our ministerial office, contended earnestly for a long time to have these matters now in contention entirely abolished. But as we could not carry our point with the Queen and Parliament, we judged it better, on consultation, not to desert the churches for the sake of a few rites, and those not in themselves ungodly; especially as the pure doctrine of the Gospel was left us entire and free.—And as yet we have not repented of our determination.—But these unseasonable contentions relative to things in themselves indifferent, (as far as I am able to judge,) tend not to edification, but to the division of the Church, and to sow discord among brethren." Cited by BURNET, *Hist. of Ref.* Vol. III. P. iii. B. VI. p. 362.

nollify your hearts, God make you friends, God
t you to love as brethren together !

t us lay aside this pride of our hearts ; let us not be
in our own opinions ; let us not requite evil with
let us as much as may be, have peace with all

Alas, it is no great thing that I require of you !
uire only your love ; I require your friendship
owards another ; I ask no more but that your
be joined in mutual love and unity together.

it is a thing that soon may be granted of such
y together, of such as have one Heavenly Father,
has are partakers of CHRIST's holy sacraments, of
us profess CHRIST, and will be called Christians !
, how can we pray our heavenly Father to forgive
we will not forgive our brother wherein he tres-
th against us ? How can we with clear conscience
unto the holy Communion, and be partakers of
ST's most holy body and blood, if we are not in
y with our own neighbour ? Let us therefore lay
all discord, without hypocrisy ; let us lay aside
alice, without dissimulation ; let us all join to-
r in brotherly love ; let us be of like affection one
ds another : but let us not be high-minded ; let us
ourselves equal to them of the lower sort. So
we make our bodies a quick and lively sacrifice.
all we make them acceptable unto God. So shall
reconciled unto God, and God reconciled unto
nd finally, so shall we, which are called Christians,
own to be God's servants and such as profess the
of CHRIST, if we shall be found to have this peace
otherly love, which is the badge and cognizance
CHRIST : and so shall God be ours and remain with
ever. Amen.'

it the time of the composition of this sermon,
alsodrew up a paper of remarks on CARTWRIGHT's
ons to the ecclesiastical offices of Archbishop and
acon, designed for the use of WHITGIFT, and
ed in his *Answer to the Admonition*.¹ Both the
and the remarks were bitterly reflected on by

y are also preserved by STRYPE, *Life of Whitgift*, App.

CARTWRIGHT, after the ~~writer's~~ death; and as warmly defended by WHITGIFT.^a

In 1567, Jewell was again in London, probably on occasion of the publication of his *Defence* of the 'Apology.' As usual he preached at Paul's Cross during his stay; and, as was almost equally a matter of course, his sermon was the occasion of a fresh attack by his old adversaries.^b

In 1571, he attended the Convocation held in April, and took a decided part in the resistance made to the encroachments of the Puritans. His motion for the publication of the Articles, which was connected with the archbishop's requisition of a general subscription; and his sermon at Paul's Cross, have been already mentioned.

Little more is known of the closing years of Jewell's life. Passed in a constant round of duty and close occupation, his days presented little interesting matter for the pen of the biographer. He had gathered a noble library of theological authors of every age and class. In this he spent almost all the time not employed in preaching or in episcopal visitations. He rose early, and after his devotions, was accustomed to shut himself in his library, where he was not easily to be seen until eight o'clock, when a bowl of broth, or an egg, was brought him for his breakfast. His dinner was plain, but plentifully set, and hospitably served to the guests and inmates of his family. For himself, his delicate

^a "They (the Puritans) will not stick in commending themselves to deface all others; yea, even that notable JEWELL, whose both labour and learning they do envy, and amongst themselves deprave; as I have heard with mine own ears, and a number more besides.

"For further proof whereof I do refer you to the report that this faction spread of him after his last sermon at St. Paul's Cross: because he did confirm the doctrine before preached by a famous and learned man touching obedience to the prince and the laws. It was strange to me to hear so notable a bishop, so learned a man, so stout a champion of true religion, so painful a prelate, so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of wavering, wicked, and wretched tongues:—but it is their manner, be ye never so well learned, never so painful, so zealous, so virtuous, all is nothing with them, but they will deprave you and spread false rumours, as though you were the vilest person upon earth." WHITGIFT, as quoted by ISAACSON, *Life of Jewell*, p. lxvi. lxvii.

^b In a work by DORMAN, entitled *A Request to M. Jewell that he keep his promise made by solemn protestation in his late Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, 15th June 1567*, Louvain, 1567, 8vo.

health confined him to an extremely low and abstemious diet. The Bible in English was always read during the early part of this meal; the remainder was seasoned with the master's cheerful conversation and urbane attentions to his guests and dependents; or, not unfrequently, diversified by the literary exercises of his beneficiaries. Dinner ended, he devoted a stated portion of time to hearing causes, or arbitrating differences, if any offered. Study succeeded this employment. At nine in the evening, the whole family was assembled, and after joint prayer he examined its members on the way in which they had passed the day, and reproved, rebuked, exhorted, or instructed them, singly or collectively, according to their need. His private devotions then closed the day, and he retired to bed, where he heard some favorite author read until he fell asleep.

Such was the even tenor of Jewell's course of unremitting toil. Under such continual wear, his body, never strong in constitution, fell into premature decay, and his useful life was terminated when he had hardly reached the borders of old age.

The end was befitting such a life. It would be injustice to give the account of it in any other than the quaint simplicity of his first English biographer.

"By his restless labours and watchful cares he brought his feeble body so low, that as he rode to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, a gentleman friendly admonished him to return home for his health's sake, saying, 'that such straining his body in riding and preaching, being so exceeding weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his life;' assuring him, 'That it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replieth, 'It becometh best a bishop to die preaching in the pulpit:' alluding peradventure to the apothegm of Vespasian, *Oportet imperatorem stantem mori*; (It behoveth an emperor to die standing;) and seriously thinking upon the comfortable eulogy of his Master, *Happy art thou, my servant, if when I come, I find thee so doing*. Wherefore, that he might not deceive the people's expectation, he ascendeth the pulpit, and, now nothing but spirit (his flesh being pined away and exhausted,)

reads his text out of the fifth to the Galatians—' *Walk in the spirit*'—and with much pain makes an end of it.

"Presently after sermon, his disease growing more upon him, forced him to take his bed, and to think of his dissolution, now not far off. In the beginning of his extreme fits he made his will; considering therein his brother J. Jewell and his friends with some kind remembrances, but bestowing the rest more liberally upon his servants, scholars, and the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, nature with all her forces (being able no longer to hold fight with the disease) shrinking and failing, he calleth all his household about him, and after an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, *Cantator cygneus funeris ipse sui*, (swanlike, singing his own funereal song,) thus beginneth his sweet song:—"I see 'I am now to go the way, and I feel the arrows of death 'already fastened in my body; wherefore I am desirous 'in few words, while yet my most merciful God vouch- 'safeth me the use of my tongue, to speak unto you all. 'It was my prayer always unto Almighty God, since I 'had my understanding, that I might honour his name 'with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirm his truth with 'the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence 'thereof; which seeing he hath not granted me in this, 'yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself, that it is 'worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy 'calling. For while I visit the people of God, God, my 'God, hath visited me with M. Harding, who provoked 'me first. I have contended in my writings, not to 'detract from his credit and estimation, nor to patronize 'any error to my knowledge, nor to gain the vain ap- 'plause of the world; but according to my poor ability 'to do my best service to God and his Church. My 'last sermon at Paul's Cross, and conference about the 'ceremonies and state of our Church, were not to please 'any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren who 'are of a contrary opinion; but only to this end, that 'neither part might prejudice the other, and that the 'love of God might be shed in the hearts of the brethren, through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech 'ALMIGHTY GOD of his infinite mercy to convert or 'confound the head of all these evils and ringleader of 'all rebellions, disorders, and schisms, the bishop of

‘Rome, who, wheresoever he setteth foot, soweth seeds of strife and contentions. I beseech him also long to preserve the Queen’s Majesty, to direct and protect her council, to maintain and increase godly pastors, and to grant to his whole Church unity and godly peace. Also I beseech you all that are about me, and all others whom I ever offended, to forgive me. And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last duty of love—to pray for me, and help me with the ardency of your affection, when you perceive me through the infirmity of my flesh to languish and wax cold in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many other; now the time is come wherein I may and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you.’

“Having thus spoken, and something more to the like purpose, with much pain and interruption, he desired them to sing the 71st Psalm, (which begins thus, *In thee, O LORD, put I my trust; let me never be confounded,*) himself joining as well as he could with them: and when they recited those words—*Thou art my hope, O LORD God, my trust even from my youth*—he added, ‘Thou only wast my whole hope!’ and as they went forward, saying, *Cast me not off in the time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea even to mine old age and gray head, forsake me not, O God!*—he made this application to himself; ‘He is an old man, he is truly gray headed, and his strength faileth him, who lieth on his death-bed:’ to which he added other thick and short prayers, as it were pulses, so moved by the power of God’s SPIRIT; saying, ‘LORD, take from me my spirit!’—‘LORD, now let thy servant depart in peace!’—‘Break off all delays!’—‘Suffer thy servant to come unto thee!’—‘Command him to be with thee!’—‘LORD receive my spirit!’

“Here, when one of those who stood by prayed, with tears, That, if it might stand with God’s good pleasure, He would restore him to former health; Jewell overhearing him turned his eyes, as it were, offended, and spake to him in the words of S. AMBROSE—‘I have not lived so, that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful LORD. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me.

‘CHRIST is my righteousness. FATHER, let thy will be done! *thy* will, I say, and not *my* will, which is imperfect and depraved. O LORD, confound me not! This is my *To-day*, this day quickly let me come unto thee! this day let me see the LORD JESUS.’—With these words the door was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were abased, the silver cord lengthened no more, the golden ewer was cracked, and the pitcher broken at the well: yet the keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windows, though dark, yet were fixed toward heaven; till after a few fervent inward prayers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soul returned to God that gave it. Mr. Ridley, the steward of his house, shut his eyes, in the year of our LORD, 1571, September 22d, about three of the clock in the afternoon, *Ann. æt.* almost 50.”¹

Such was the peaceful end of this true Christian minister. It took place at Monkton-Farley, one of his episcopal residences, in the twelfth year of his episcopate. Seldom has the Church militant lost a brighter ornament, or a more faithful soldier. Seldom has one who died, if age be the standard of maturity, so prematurely, left such enduring monuments of usefulness while he lived, and usefulness to posterity.

Jewell’s funeral sermon was preached at Oxford by Giles Laurence, an old associate and esteemed friend; LAURENCE HUMPHREY, President of Magdalen College, and Regius Professor of Divinity, a still older and dearer friend, who had been requested to perform the office, being absent from the University on account of the plague.

That learned man, however, amply compensated the loss of his services on that occasion, by acceding to the earnest request of Archbishop Parker, and Sandys,

¹ FEATLY’S *Life*, prefixed to the folio edition of JEWELL’S *Works*, 1611: page 10—12.—This account is confirmed, in substance, by the more brief relation which JOHN GARBRAND prefixed to his edition of Jewell’s posthumous treatises. GARBRAND was one of Jewell’s beneficiaries, enjoyed a prebend in the bishop’s own cathedral, was present at his death-bed, and seems to have been legatee of his manuscripts; since he not only published some, but by will left others, with his own extracts from Jewell’s common-place books, to John Rainolds and Robert Chaloner.—WOOD.

bishop of London, that he would transmit to posterity a record of the virtues and labours of their deceased friend. His *Life of Jewell*, in Latin—a loose and rambling production, but written in an easy style, and replete with interesting matter—appeared in quarto, in 1573: and so it we are indebted for almost every thing that is known of Jewell's personal history. It is accompanied by no less than *nine and twenty* pages of verses in Jewell's praise, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, by Thomas Wilson, the queen's Almoner; John Woolley, her Latin Secretary; Nowell, dean of St. Paul's; Thomas Bickly; William Cole; Herbert Westphaling; Giles Laurence; Adam Squier; Arthur Yeldard; Tobias Matthew, soon after archbishop of York; Edward Cradock; Oliver Withington; Martin Culpepper; Sir Thomas Bodley; Lawrence Bodley; Thomas Norton; John Rainolds; P. Le Villier, of Paris; Buchanan, the celebrated poet and historian; Daniel Roger; Charles Mignot, of Rouen: John Brossier, of Vendome; M. De la Faie; Robert Roll; Sir Henry Cotton; Ralph Walter, of Zurich; T. G.; Henry Knivett; Robert Onslow; Samuel Cranmer; and Fox, the Martyrologist. The estimation in which the departed had been held, may be inferred from the number, eminence, and various countries of these eulogists.

Beside the works already mentioned in this Memoir, Jewell published a *Letter to Scipio, a Venetian Noble, concerning the causes why the English Bishops did not meet in the Council at Trent*, written in the Latin tongue. It contained, as the title imports, a statement of the reasons which induced Elizabeth to determine on refusing to take any part in the Council, summoned by Pius IV. to meet anew in Trent in 1562; and was, like the *Apology*, an authenticated declaration of the views and principles of the Church of England—so far as related to its particular subject. The Venetian noble to whom it is addressed, had formed an acquaintance with Jewell during his exile,^k and had written a sort of expostulatory letter to his friend, on the refusal of Eng-

^k It is said, at Padua; but as there are no other traces of Jewell's ever having visited Italy, and as no time can be assigned at which he might have done so with convenience, this is probably an error.

land to concur in a measure which, many on both sides even yet thought, might end in the reconciliation of the existing differences. Jewell's reply is little more than an enlargement of the eleventh chapter of the *Apology*, drawn up in a noble strain of independent and manly eloquence. It was probably composed about the same time as the *Apology*, and published not long before.¹

The *View of a Seditious Bull sent into England from Pius IV., Bishop of Rome, Anno 1559. Delivered in certain Sermons in the Cathedral Church of Sarum, 1570*; was a posthumous publication by GARBRAND, issued together with the *Treatise of the Scriptures*, in 1582. It is interesting, as being Jewell's latest controversial production; and still more so, as furnishing a specimen of the manner in which he deemed it his duty to guard his flock against error, in his pulpit instructions.

In addition to these works, published before and since his death, he left a great mass of papers, the fruit of his long and unwearied studies. Beside the expository lectures already mentioned, and his college abstracts and notes of lectures, there were numerous volumes of common-places and collections, into which it had been his invariable habit to digest every thing he read, and a number of little 'manuals,' or 'diaries,'^m one of which he had always carried about him, ready to note any remarkable saying, quotation, event, or suggestion, which might occur in his daily intercourse. These were all in short-hand, and thus unfortunately useless, except to one or two of his most intimate associates, to whom he had taught his system of short-hand notation, which was his own invention.

To the same cause, probably, we owe the loss of his numerous sermons, with the exception of the few published.ⁿ He was not, it is true, in the habit of writing

¹ In Mr. ISAACSON's list of JEWELL's works, it bears the date 1559; but this must be an error, as the Bull of Pius IV. summoning the Council, is only dated Jan. 1, 1560, and Mr. ISAACSON himself (*Life*, p. lv.) places the publication of the '*Epistola*,' in the 'year before' that of the *Apology*.

^m "Enchiridion—Ephemeridas seu Diarios vocant." HUMFREDI *Vita*, p. 233.

ⁿ The *Sermon at Paul's Cross* in 1560; *Thirteen Sermons preached before the Queen, at Paul's Cross, and elsewhere*, published by GARBRAND; the *Sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford*, in 1550, preserved in

them out fully before preaching, even on the most important occasions; as is evident from his famous Sermon at Paul's Cross, which he professed to publish as written from memory, after its delivery. Yet he never allowed himself to enter the pulpit, even of the humblest parish church, without much previous preparation, in which he carefully arranged the plan of his discourse, laid down its heads and subdivisions, selected appropriate illustrations and arguments, and compiled the scripture references. These he generally committed first to writing, and then to memory: clothing them with language and the needful ornament when under the impulse of delivery.

It was, indeed, a greater exercise of memory thus to combine prearranged materials with extempore thoughts and utterance, than it would have been to repeat a written discourse memoriter; and far more difficult, to a man of Jewell's full fraught intellect and ready ingenuity, than to speak wholly from the impulse of the moment. But the latter course he is said to have rejected as presumptuous and rash; and his memory, naturally good, had been so improved by art, as to bear readily any burden he might see fit to impose. He had invented for his own use a method of artificial memory, of which wonders are narrated. It not only fixed whatever he wished to learn upon his mind with the strongest hold, but gave him confidence and self-possession in the repetition, so that he would say that the noise of ten thousand men fighting or carousing would not put him out, having once commenced. Many remarkable instances of trials of this faculty in Jewell are recorded by his biographer, some almost surpassing belief.

Yet the same humility and conscientious caution which prevented Jewell from preaching extempore, rendered him averse to rely on his memory in his controversial writings. In these he would not even trust his own transcripts, either of the works refuted or of his

Latin by HUMPHREY, and translated by R. V. [aux] in 1583; with the compilations in the *Treatise of the Scriptures* and *View of a Seditious Bull*, are all that remains to us as a sample of that copious and earnest eloquence which gained for Jewell the name of 'the best preacher of his day.'

authorities. He first read his adversaries' books, marking all that he thought needed a reply; then drew up the plan of his answer, and arranged his illustrations, proofs, and references; and lastly employed his scholars to transcribe every passage to be thus used, in the same arrangement, that the whole might be before him while he composed his work.

Such was the man who wrote the *Apology of the Church of England*, in his endowments, his habits, his pursuits, and his personal history. It is faint praise to say of him that the Scholar, the Christian, and above all, the Gospel Minister, may look to him with pride and thankfulness, as their model.

Holle Learning, sacred Arts;
 Gifts of Nature, strength of Parts;
 Fluent Grace, an humble minde;
 Worth reform'd, and lost refinde;
 Sweetnesse both in Tongue and Pen;
 Insight both of Bookes and Men:
 Hopes in woe, and feares in weale;
 Humble knowledge, sprightlie zeale;
 A liberale heart, and free from Gall;
 Close to friends, and true to all;
 Weight of courage in Truth's duell,
 Are the stones that made this **JEWELL**.
 Let him that would be truly blest,
 Weare this **JEWELL** in his breast.

FULLER.

THE
APOLOGY
OF
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

WRITTEN BY THE VERY LEARNED AND REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN JEWELL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto
salvation, to every one that believeth."—*Rom. i.*



PETER MARTYR^a

TO

JOHN JEWELL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY,

WISHETH HEALTH.

By the care of the Bishop of London, most excellent prelate and lord, whom I daily esteem more and more, there has reached me a copy of your Apology for the Church of England, which neither I, nor any of us, had before seen. In your last, indeed, you rather hinted, than mentioned, its being about to appear. But it could not make so long a journey as to us, so as to reach us before the 1st of August. Hence you may conceive how great a loss we sometimes experience, in consequence of our remoteness.

^a [A pious and learned Italian, whose talents and zeal for the truth made him conspicuous among the Reformers in Germany, Switzerland, and England. He was born in Milan, in the year 1500. At the age of sixteen he assumed the habit of the canons regular of the order of St. Augustine, at Fesulæ, near Florence. Here, and at another convent in Pavia, he spent eleven years in assiduous study. He was then appointed a preacher, and delivered courses of Advent and Lent sermons, and taught philosophy and divinity, in several of the chief cities and towns of Italy. Successive promotions to posts of trust and dignity in his order, were the rewards of his talents and industry. But in the midst of monkery, his indefatigable search for information brought him acquainted with the writings of several of the Swiss reformers. These, with the conversation of some learned converts to their opinions, worked conviction in his mind; and after exciting much opposition, and incurring considerable danger, in the endeavour to spread the knowledge of the truth, he at length fled to Germany, for the enjoyment of freedom of opinion.

By the mediation of Bucer, he was appointed to a professorship in Strasburg, where he interpreted the Scriptures, and taught the Hebrew language, five years.

In 1547, he was invited into England by Archbishop Cranmer, to assist in conducting the work of reformation there. A course of divinity lectures at Oxford was the task assigned him, discharged with ability

The work was thought, not only by me, (to whom every thing of yours gives satisfaction and pleasure,) but also by Bullinger, and his sons, and sons-in-law, as well as by Walter and Wolf, so wise, admirable, and eloquent, that they set no bounds to their praise, and are of opinion that nothing more perfect has appeared in these times. I hail with hearty welcome this happy specimen of your talents, this means of edification to the Church, this ornament of England; and beseech you to go on in the path on which you have entered. For although our cause is good, yet they who defend it are but few, compared with the number of its enemies; and these last seem to be at length so much aroused, as to gain greatly in the esteem of the inexperienced multi-

and much success, though not without opposition from the enemies of his religious principles; which at one time was carried so far as to force him to flee to London for his life. He was consulted in the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, and in the compilation of the Liturgy.

On the accession of Mary, Peter Martyr was permitted to leave the kingdom, although the machinations of his enemies rendered the undertaking perilous and troublesome; and after his departure, the bones of his wife, who had died at Oxford, were dug up, condemned in a mock trial, and buried in a dunghill.

He returned to Strasburg in 1553, was re-admitted to his lectureship, and discharged its duties nearly three years. During this period, he paid many kind attentions to the English exiles for conscience sake, who were sojourning in various parts of Switzerland and Germany, and thus became acquainted, among others, with Bishop Jewell, then at Strasburg.

In 1556, he accepted a professorship at Zurich, and in his removal thither was accompanied by Jewell.

Queen Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, honoured Peter Martyr with an invitation to return to England, and a promise of preferment. But he chose to stay at Zurich; and there remained (with the exception of a visit to Paris in 1561, when he was officially invited to bear a part in the ineffectual conference between the Romanists and Huguenots) until his decease, on the 11th of November, 1562.

His writings were held in much esteem among his contemporaries, and by all parties he was regarded as a man who united, in a remarkable degree, sound judgment and discretion with fervent zeal. His invitation to Paris, and the attention shown him while there by the leaders of both factions, are proofs of the high rank he maintained in public opinion.]

tude by the excellence of their style, and their cunning sophisms. I speak in particular of such as Staphylus, Hosius, and many other writers of the same family, who at this time act as strenuous champions of the Pope's deceits.

Hence, as you have excited such hopes of you, by your learned and eloquent Apology, be well assured that all the good and the learned now promise themselves that while you live, evangelical truth shall not be assailed by its enemies with impunity. For my part, I rejoice exceedingly that I have lived to see you the parent of so illustrious and elegant a child. May God our heavenly Father, in his goodness, grant that you may often be enriched by a progeny not unlike !



THE
APOLOGY, &c.*

CHAPTER I.

A short Account of the Opposition the Truth and true Religion have met with in all Ages.

Section 1. It hath been an old complaint, even from the first time of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the writings and testimonies of every age, that *the truth* wandereth here and there as a stranger in the world, and doth readily find enemies and slanderers amongst those that know her not.^b Albeit perchance this may seem unto some a thing hard to be believed—I mean to such as have scant well and narrowly taken heed thereunto—especially seeing all mankind, of Nature's very motion, without a teacher, doth court *the truth* of their own accord; and seeing our Saviour CHRIST himself, when he was on earth, would be called THE TRUTH,^c as by a name most fit to express

* [The title of Bishop JEWELL's book is given rather differently in his *Answer to HARDING's Confutation*. It there runs: *An Apology, or Answer, in Defence of the Church of England, with a brief and plain Declaration of the true Religion, professed and used in the same.*]

^b TERTULLIANUS in *Apologetico*. [c. 1. "Veritas—scit se peregrinam in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire."—HARDING, the Jesuit, in his *Confutation of an Apology*, cavilled at the rendering of "extraneos," in this passage, by "that know her not." In defending it, *Jewell* justly and beautifully remarks: "Verily, as long as Satan, the prince of darkness, is 'prince of this world,' so long the truth of God passeth in this world as a *stranger*: and being among strangers, as TERTULLIAN saith, easily findeth enemies, and is ill-entreated. He saith further, *Cæterum, unum hoc gestit, ne ignorata damnetur*—This only thing truth desireth, that no man condemn her before he know her."—*Defence of the Apology*, p. 8. fol. ed.]

^c John xiv. 6.

all his divine power : yet we, which have been exercised in the holy Scriptures, and which have both read and seen^d what hath happened to all godly men, commonly at all times—what to the prophets, to the apostles, to the holy martyrs, and what to CHRIST himself—with what rebukes, revilings,^e and despites, they were continually vexed whilst they here lived, and that only for *the truth's sake* ;—we, I say, do see that this is not only no new thing, or hard to be believed, but that it is a thing already received, and commonly used, from age to age.

Nay, truly, this might seem much rather a marvel, and beyond all belief, if the devil, who is the father of lies, and enemy to all truth,^f would now upon a sudden change his nature, and hope that truth might otherwise be suppressed than by belieing it ; or that he would begin to establish his own kingdom by using now any other practices than the same which he hath ever used from the beginning. For since any man's remembrance, we scant find one time, either when religion did first grow, or when it was settled, or when it did fresh spring up again, wherein truth and innocency were not by all unworthy means and most despitefully entreated. Doubtless the devil well seeth, that so long as truth is in good safety, himself cannot be safe, nor yet maintain his own estate.

Sect. 2. For—letting pass the ancient patriarchs and prophets, who, as we have said, had no part of their

^d [JEWELL, it will be remembered, was writing for men, who, like himself, had been witnesses, if not actors, in the scenes of blood and violence which attended the temporary suppression of Protestantism in the reign of Mary. The embers of the Smithfield fires were scarcely yet extinct, when he reminded his readers of their having *seen* the fate "of godly men," when persecuted for *the truth*.]

^e [It seems scarcely credible, yet such is the fact, that, after this grave expostulation, the very first paragraph of the answer—the section devoted especially to this introduction to Bishop JEWELL's book—should characterize the Reformers of England as "the ass in the lion's skin," "apes counterfeiting men," "heretics, children of their father the devil," "gospellers, by just sentence of excommunication cut off from the Church," "filthy queanes [strumpets] who in time and place use the honest talk of chaste matrons," "thieves," "like to the Manichees," and much more of the same sort!—HARDING's *Confutation*, quoted in JEWELL's *Answer*, p. 1, 5.]

^f John viii. 44.

life free from contumelies and slanders—we know there were certain in times past which said, and commonly preached,⁶ that the old ancient Jews (of whom we make no doubt but they were the worshippers of the only true God) did worship either a sow, or an ass, in God's stead;⁷ and that all the same religion was nothing else but sacrilege, and a plain contempt of all godliness.¹ We know also, that the Son of God, our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, when he taught the truth, was counted a sorcerer, an enchanter, a Samaritan,² Beelzebub,¹ a deceiver of the people,³ and a glutton.² Again, who woteth [knoweth] not, what words were spoken against St. Paul, the most earnest and vehement preacher and maintainer of the truth? Sometimes, that he was a seditious and busy man, a raiser of tumults, a causer of rebellion: sometimes, again, that he was a heretic:² sometimes, that he was mad:⁴ sometimes, that only upon strife and stomach [anger] he was both a blasphemer of God's law, and a

⁶ [The word is here used in the sense of *declaring, affirming*. This is worth observing, as it has a bearing on the sense of the old, or Prayer Book version of Psalm lx. 11, where '*preachers*' is put for a Hebrew word which is of the feminine gender; a circumstance which has been forced into the debate with the Quakers and others, whether females ought to preach.]

⁷ CORNELII TACITI *Hist. lib. v.* [cap. 4. "*Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacra vère.*" (Judæi, sc.) Yet the same historian elsewhere says, (*ibid.* cap. 5.) "*Judæi mente solâ (venerantur) unumque numen intelligunt.*" "*The Jews worship only in the mind,* [an assertion equally untrue with the foregoing] *and believe in one God.*" And again he furnishes the means of confuting his own misstatement, by informing us that Pompey, when he entered the temple, found in it no image or statue of any kind: "*nulla intus deum, effigie vacuum sedem, et inania arcana.*" cap. 9. [So inconsistent and self-contradictory can even an intelligent and usually accurate writer become, when loosely speaking from hearsay, on the information of prejudiced and careless witnesses!]

¹ TERTULLI in *Apologetico*. c. 16. [TERTULLIAN there takes notice of Tacitus' slander on the Jews, and confutes it by adducing the contradictory passages already given. He is led to remark on it by the popular extension of the calumny to the Christians, who were reported to worship "*caput asinum*"—the head of an ass.]

² John viii. 48.

³ Matt. x. 25. xii. 24. ss.

⁴ John vii. 12, 47. Matt. xxvii. 63.

⁵ Luke vii. 34.

⁶ Acts xvi. 20. s. xvii. 6. ss.

⁷ Acts xviii. 13.

⁸ Acts xxvi. 24.

despiser of the fathers' ordinances.^r Further, who knoweth not, how St. Stephen, after he had thoroughly and sincerely embraced the truth, and began frankly and stoutly to preach and set forth the same, as he ought to do, was immediately called to answer for his life, as one that had wickedly uttered disdainful and heinous words against the law, against Moses, against the temple, and against God?^s Or who is ignorant, that in times past there were some which reprov'd the holy Scriptures of falsehood, saying, they contained things both contrary, and quite one against another:^t and how that the Apostles of CHRIST did severally disagree between themselves,^u and that St. Paul did vary from them all?^v And not to make rehearsal of all—for that were an endless labour—who knoweth not after what sort our fathers were railed upon in times past, which first began to acknowledge and profess the name of CHRIST? how they made private conspiracies, devised secret counsels against the commonwealth,^w and to that end made early and privy meetings in the dark, killed young babes, fed themselves with men's flesh, and, like savage and brute beasts, did drink their blood;—in conclusion, that after they had put out the candles, they committed adultery between themselves, and without regard, wrought incest one with another; that brethren lay with their sisters, sons with their mothers, without any reverence of nature or kin, without shame, without difference; and that they were wicked men, without all care of religion, and without any opinion of God, being

^r [JEWELL's margin cites "EPIPHANIUS" in proof. He probably refers to that writer's book *On Heresies*, chap. xxx. where it is said of the Ebionites, an early heretical sect, that they held the memory of Paul in aversion, as a contemner of the Mosaic law, which they esteemed to be of perpetual obligation. IRENÆUS also affirms of them, that "Apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes"—"they reject the apostle Paul, calling him an apostate from the law."—*Hæres.* lib. I. c. xxvi. p. 105.]

^s Acts vi. 11, 13. s.

^t HIERONYMUS in *Proæmio in Epist. ad Galat.*

^u HIERONYMUS in *Matthæum*, lib. I. cap. i.

^v TERTULLIANUS *contra Marcion.* Lib. I. [cap. xx.] Lib. IV. [cap. iii.] Lib. V. cap. ii. [where Marcion the heretic is spoken of as making this assertion.] LACTANTIUS [who relates the same of Ælius.]

^w EUSEBIUS *Eccles. Hist.* Lib. V. c. i.

the very enemies of mankind, unworthy to be suffered in the world, and unworthy of life?*

Sect. 3. All these things were spoken in those days against the people of God; against CHRIST JESUS; against Paul; against Stephen; and against all them, whosoever they were, which at the first beginning embraced the truth of the gospel, and were contented to be called by the name of Christians, which was then a hateful name among the common people.† And although the things which they said were not true, yet the devil thought it should be sufficient for him, if at least he could bring it so to pass, as they might be believed for true; and that the Christians might be brought into a common hatred of every body, and have their death and destruction sought of all sorts. Hereupon kings and princes, being led then by such persuasions, killed all the prophets of God, letting none escape: Isaiah with a saw; Jeremiah with stones; Daniel with lions; Amos with an iron bar; Paul with the sword; and CHRIST upon the cross: and condemned all Christians to imprisonments, to torments, to the pikes, to be thrown down headlong from rocks and steep places, to be cast to wild beasts, and to be burned, and made great fires of their quick [living] bodies, for the only purpose to give light by night, and for a very scorn and mocking-stock;‡ and did count them no better than the vilest filth, the off-scourings and laughing games of the whole world.

Thus, as ye see, have the authors and professors of the truth ever been entreated.

* TERTULLIAN. *Apologetico*, c. i. ii. iii. vii. viii. ix.

† TERTULLIAN. *Apologetico*, c. iii. "Christianus si nullius criminis reus est."—"Ita plerique clausis oculis in odium ejus impingunt, ut bonum alicui testimonium ferentes admisceant nominis exprobrationem, Bonus vir Caius Seius, tantum Christianus."—"A Christian is a criminal, though guilty of no crime.—The multitude are so blindly prejudiced against it, (Christianity,) that if they give a good character of one of us, they insert their censure of the name: Such an one is a good man, if he were not a Christian."

‡ SUTTONIUS TRANQUILLUS in *Nerone*. [c. xvi. The satyrist JUVENAL, *Sat. I. v.* 155—158, alludes to the cruel torments thus inflicted on the Christians.]

CHAPTER II.

*The Calumnies uttered against the true Religion, as
professed in the Church of England.*

Sect. 1. Wherefore we ought to bear it the more quietly, which have taken upon us to profess the Gospel of CHRIST,^a if we for the same cause be handled after the same sort: and if we, as our forefathers were long ago, be likewise at this day tormented, and baited with railings, with spiteful dealings, and with lies: and that for no desert of our own, but because we teach and acknowledge the truth.^b

Sect. 2. They cry out upon us at this present, every where, that we are all heretics, and have forsaken the faith, and have with new persuasions and wicked learning utterly dissolved the concord of the Church.*

Sect 3. That we renew, and as it were fetch again from hell, the old and many-a-day condemned heresies: that we sow abroad new sects, and such broils as never erst [before] were heard of: also, that we are already

* [*Gospellers* was one of the nicknames given to the reformers by their Romish antagonists. In imitation of Paul, they had professed to be "set in defence of the gospel;" like him, they boldly declared themselves "not ashamed of the gospel of CHRIST;" and their whole lives were a commentary upon his energetic declaration, "Wo is unto me, if I preach not the gospel!" To these principles, and to the sarcastic recognition of them in the name *Gospeller*, JEWELL particularly alludes.]

^b 1 Tim. iv. 10.

* [It cannot be denied that the bold measures of the reformers were destructive of a certain 'concord' which had previously pervaded a great portion of the Christian Church. But it was that 'concord' of which Paul speaks, when he asks "what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath CHRIST with Belial?" Of other concord—agreement in opinion, and "godly quietness," there was, it may be fearlessly asserted, as little before the Reformation as there has been since. Of the "unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace," surely the great principles of Protestantism cannot diminish the amount!]

divided into contrary parts and opinions, and could yet by no means agree well among ourselves.^d

Sect. 4. That we be accursed creatures; and, like the giants, do war against God himself, and live clean without any regard or worshipping of God.

Sect. 5. That we despise all good deeds: that we use no discipline of virtue, no laws, no customs: that we esteem neither right, nor order, nor equity, nor justice: that we give the bridle to all naughtiness, and provoke the people to all licentiousness and lust.

Sect. 6. That we labour and seek to overthrow the state of monarchies and kingdoms, and to bring all things under the rule of the rash inconstant people, and unlearned multitude.

Sect. 7. That we have seditiously fallen from the Catholic Church, and by a wicked schism and division have shaken the whole world, and troubled the common peace and universal quiet of the Church: and that, as Dathan and Abiram conspired in times past against Moses and Aaron,^e even so we at this day have renounced the Bishop of Rome, without any cause reasonable.

^d ["A variety of opinions has indeed sprung up since the Reformation. But the schism arising hence cannot be justly charged upon the Reformation itself. The knowledge of the Scriptures, which was then laid open, might afterwards be abused by men of warm imaginations and unsettled judgments; yet this is no argument against the sober and steady use of Scripture, any more than the sun can be blamed for shining with equal lustre upon the froward and the wise. Surely, the bounty of Heaven is not to be arraigned, if weak or wicked men abuse it! The sobriety and caution with which our first reformers in England proceeded in drawing up the [form of] doctrines of their Church, afford an admirable instance of men actuated not by a love of novelty and change, but by a desire of restoring the pure faith, as it 'was delivered to the saints,' and following the apostolic injunction, that all things in the Church should be done 'decently and in order.'"—A. C. Campbell, p. 11.]

^e [To this, JEWELL answers: "Before the time that God's holy will was that Doctor Luther should begin, after so long time of ignorance, to publish the gospel of CHRIST, there was a general quietness, I grant: such as in the night season, when folk be asleep. Yet, I think, to continue such quietness, no man would wish to sleep still."—*Defence*, p. 18.]

^f Numbers xvi.

Sect. 8. That we set nought by the authority of the ancient fathers, and councils of old time :⁶ that we have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies, which have been well allowed by our fathers and forefathers many hundred years past, both by good customs, and also in ages of more purity : and that we have, by our own private head, without the authority of any sacred and general council, brought new traditions into the Church : and have done all these things, not

⁶ [The 'councils of old time,' were assemblies of bishops, convened to deliberate concerning matters relative to the interests of the Church, either at large, or in a particular district, and concerning points of doctrine, rites and ceremonies, and matters of religious dispute or controversy generally. Presbyters, and sometimes deacons and even laymen, were permitted to assist in the deliberations, but were not considered as having a voice in the decision.

They were distinguished into *General* (called also *Universal*, and *Œcumenical*), and *Provincial*. The former consisted of bishops summoned from all Christian countries : the latter, of those of a particular district or province.

The *first* General Council was assembled at the call of the emperor Constantine, at Nice, and consisted of three hundred and eighteen bishops. Its object was to settle the dispute relative to the Arian heresy, which was attempted by the promulgation of the creed known as the Nicene.

The *second* General Council was convened, with reference to the disputes relative to the doctrine of the Trinity, by the emperor Theodosius the Great. It assembled at Constantinople, in 381, and consisted of a hundred and fifty bishops.

The *third* General Council was held at Ephesus, to determine on the Nestorian heresy, in the year 431. Cyril of Alexandria presided. The disorderly mode, and vehemence, of its proceedings, have stamped it with indelible disgrace.

The *fourth* General Council, convened at Chalcedon, by the emperor Marcion, in 451, condemned the Eutychian heresy, and in a great measure revoked the decisions of its predecessor.

These four councils have been acknowledged as *General*, by most Protestants in their disputes with the Romish divines, and especially by the Church of England. Their decisions have accordingly been respected (due allowance being made for the circumstances in which they were made,) as expressions of the opinion of the Church in the several ages in which they were convened.

To these, three more are added, but without so general an allowance of their decisions. The *fifth*, the second council of Constantinople, convened by the emperor Justinian, in 553, to quell the Monophysite heresy. The *sixth*, the third of Constantinople, assembled, in 580 by the emperor Constantine Pogonatus, for the recognition of the decisions of the preceding five, and the condemnation of the Monothelite heresy. The *seventh*, the fourth of Constantinople, convoked by the emperor

for religion's sake, but only upon a desire of contention and strife. But that they, for their part, have changed no manner of thing, but have held and kept still, such a number of years, to this very day, all things as they were delivered from the apostles, and well approved by the most ancient fathers.^b

Sect. 9. And that this matter should not seem to be done but upon privy slander, and to be tossed to and fro in a corner only to spite us, there have been

Constantine Copronymus, in 756, for the condemnation of the worship of images.

To these, the Greeks add, as an *eighth*, the fifth council of Constantinople, convoked in 879 by the emperor Photius, for the establishment of image-worship.

This list is swelled by the Roman Church to the number of *eighteen*; among the more modern of which, those of Constance, held in 1414, of Basle, in 1438, and the last, that of Trent, which sat at intervals from 1547 to 1563, are the most famous.

Of all these councils, none were properly *universal*. The decisions of the first four, or five, are allowed greater weight than those of the other two, as being fairer representations of the opinions of the Church in those ages, and as agreeing better with the universally received doctrine of the Church of CHRIST.

The 21st Article of the *Church of England*, relates to "The Authority of General Councils." It is as follows: "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the SPIRIT and word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto GOD. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they are taken out of Holy Scriptures." This article is omitted by our Church, partly on account of its recognition of an establishment of religion, and partly as being already implied in the 6th Article.]

^a ["We allow," adds JEWELL, "the ancient fathers the same credit that they themselves have ever desired. St. AUGUSTINE hereof writeth thus: 'Neque quorumvis disputationes, quantumvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut nobis non liceat, salva reverentia quæ illis debetur, aliquid in illorum Scriptis improbare aut respicere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quam veritas habet. Talis sum ego in scriptis aliorum: tales volo esse intellectores meorum.' 'We receive not the disputations or writings of any men, be they never so catholic or praiseworthy, as we receive the canonical Scriptures: but that, saving the reverence due unto them, we may well reprove or refuse some things in their writings, if it happen we find they have otherwise thought than the truth may bear them. Such am I in the writings of others; and such would I wish others to be in mine.'"—*Defence*, p. 19. a.]

besides wilily procured by the Bishop of Rome certain persons of eloquence enough, and not unlearned neither which should put their help to this cause, now almost despaired of; and should polish and set forth the same both in books, and with long tales, to the end that when the matter was trimly and eloquently handled, ignorant and unskilful persons might suspect there was some great thing in it.¹ Indeed, they perceived that their own cause did every where go to wreck: that their sleights were now espied, and less esteemed; that their helps did daily fail them, and that their matter stood altogether in great need of a cunning spokesman.

¹ [Language more appropriate could hardly have been selected to describe the *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, (History of the Variations of Protestant Churches) published more than a century after JEWELL'S death, in 1688, by the eloquent and subtle BOSSUET, Bishop of Meaux. His object was to represent the Reformation as involving men in numberless distractions, and a bewildering maze of controversy, and to hold out the Church of Rome as an tranquil resting-place, to which they might repair for safety. The same course Bishop BURNET assures us, was resorted to in England, about the same time, with the view of supporting the tottering interests of James II. and keeping alive the feeble hopes which the Romanists had begun to entertain, of renewed power in Britain. *History of his own Times*, Anno 1686.]

CHAPTER III.

Reasons for Answering the Charges against the Reformed.

Sect. 1. Now, as for those things which by them have been laid against us, in part they be manifestly false, and condemned so by their own judgments, which spake against them: partly again, though they be as false too, indeed, yet bear they a certain show and colour of truth, so as the reader (if he take not good heed) may easily be tripped and brought into error by them, especially when their fine and cunning tale is added thereunto. And part of them be of such sort, as we ought not to shun them as crimes, or faults, but to acknowledge and confess them, as things well done, and upon very good reason. For, shortly to say the truth, these folks falsely accuse and slander all our doings, yea, the same things which they themselves cannot deny but to be rightly and orderly done; and for malice do so misconstrue and deprave all our sayings and doings, as though it were impossible that any thing could be rightly spoken or done by us. They should more plainly and sincerely have gone to work, if they would have dealt truly. But now they neither truly, nor sincerely, nor yet Christianly, but darkly and craftily charge and batter us with lies, and do abuse the blindness and fondness [silliness] of the people, together with the ignorance of princes, to cause us to be hated, and the truth to be suppressd.

This, lo ye, is the power of darkness, and of men which lean more to the amazed wondering of the rude multitude, and to darkness, than they do to truth and light; and, as ST. JEROME saith, "do openly gainsay the truth, closing up their eyes, and will not see, for the nonce [designedly]." But we give thanks to the most good and mighty God, that such is our cause; where-against (when they would fainest) they were able

* HIERONYM. *adv. Rufinum.*

to utter no despite, but the same which might as well be wrested against the holy fathers, against the prophets—against the apostles, against Peter, against Paul, and against CHRIST himself.

Sect. 2. Now therefore, if it be lawful for those folks to be eloquent and fine-tongued in speaking of evil, surely it becometh not us in our cause, being so very good, to be dumb in answering truly! For men to be careless what is spoken by them, and their own matter, be it never so falsely and slanderously spoken, (especially when it is such that the majesty of God, and the cause of religion, may thereby be damaged,) is the part, doubtless, of dissolute and reckless¹ persons, and of them which wickedly wink at the injuries done unto the name of God. For although other wrongs, yea, oftentime great, may be borne and dissembled of a mild and Christian man, yet he that goeth smoothly away, and dissembleth the matter, when he is noted of heresy, RUFINUS was wont to deny that man to be a Christian.^a We, therefore, will do the same thing, which all laws—which Nature's own voice, doth command to be done; and which CHRIST himself did, in like case, when he was checked and reviled: to the intent we may put off from us these most slanderous accusations, and may defend soberly and truly our own cause and innocency.

Sect. 3. For CHRIST verily, when the Pharisees charged him with sorcery, as one that had some familiar spirits, and wrought many things by their help: "I," said he, "have not a devil; but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me."^a And St. Paul, when Festus the lieutenant scorned him as a madman: "I," said he, "am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness."^a And the

¹ ["Retchless," is the word in the original. Its use in this passage may serve to throw light on the word "wretchlessness," in the XVIIth Article. It is no doubt a variety of spelling for "retchlessness," and answers to the modern form "recklessness," utter carelessness and self-abandonment.]

^a "Unam notam hereseos qui dissimulat, non est Christianus. RUFINUS.

• John viii. 49.

• Acts xxvi. 25.

ancient Christians, when they were slandered to the people for man-killers, for adulterers, for committers of incest, for disturbers of the commonwealths; and did perceive that by such slanderous accusations the religion which they professed might be brought in question, namely, if they should seem to hold their peace, and in manner confess the fault; lest this might hinder the free course of the Gospel, they made orations, they put up supplications, and made means to [used influence with] emperors and princes, that they might defend themselves and their fellows in open audience.^p

Sect. 4. But we truly—seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty years have borne witness unto the truth,^q in the midst of most

^p [To this we owe some of the noblest and most useful relics of Christian antiquity:—the first and second *Apologies* of JUSTIN MARTYR, the *Apologetics* of TERTULLIAN and ATHENAGORAS, the *Oclavius* of MINUCIUS FELIX.]

^q [Here it may be well again to remind the reader that JEWELL wrote for those who had witnessed, or knew by *direct* information, the martyrdoms of those who had died for the truth.]

TO HARDING, the Jesuit, who reproached him with *boasting* in hyperbolic terms of the martyrs of the Reformation, and took occasion to call Fox's *Acts and Monuments* "a huge dunghill of their stinking martyrs," he replied: "We make no boast of the numbers and multitudes of our martyrs. And yet, as St. Paul saith, (2 Cor. xi. 30,) if we should needs boast, we should chiefly boast of such our infirmities. But we rejoice with them, and give God thanks in their behalf, for that it hath pleased Him to prepare their hearts unto temptation, to try and purify them as gold in the furnace, and to keep them faithful unto the end."—"It pleaseth you, for lack of other evasion, to call the story of martyrs 'a dunghill of lies.' But these 'lies' shall remain in record for ever, to testify, and to condemn your bloody doings. Ye have imprisoned your brethren, ye have stripped them naked, ye have scourged them with rods, ye have burned their hands and arms with flaming torches, ye have famished them, ye have drowned them, ye have summoned them, being dead, to appear before you out of their graves, ye have ripped up their buried carcases, ye have burned them, ye have thrown them out into the dunghill: ye took a poor babe, falling from his mother's womb, and in a most cruel and barbarous manner cast him into the fire.

"All these things, M. Harding, are *true*: they are no 'lies.' The eyes and consciences of many thousands can witness your doings. The blood of innocent Abel crieth to God from the earth, and undoubtedly He will require it at your hands. St. CHRYSOSTOM saith (*in Matth. Hom. 19.*) 'Whosoever hath pleasure in the blood of persecution, the

painful torments that could be devised; and that when princes, desirous to restrain the Gospel, sought many ways, they prevailed nothing; and that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light;—we take it, that our cause hath already been sufficiently declared and defended, and think it not needful to make many words, seeing the matter saith enough for itself.

Sect. 5. For if the Popes would, or else if they could weigh with their own selves the whole matter, and also the beginnings and proceedings of our religion; how in a manner all their travail hath come to nought, nobody driving it [the Reformation] forward, and without any worldly help; and how, on the other side, our cause against the will of emperors from the beginning against the will of so many kings—in spite of the Popes—and almost maugre the head [in direct opposition to the endeavours] of all men—hath taken increase, and by little and little spread over into all countries, and is come at length unto kings' courts and palaces:—these same things, methinks, might be tokens great enough to them, that God himself doth strongly fight in our quarrel, and doth from heaven laugh at their enterprizes; and that the force of the truth is such, as neither man's power, nor yet hell-gates, are able to root it out.

For they be not all mad at this day, so many free cities, so many kings, so many princes, which have

same is a wolf.' Ye slew your brethren so cruelly, not for murder, or robbery, or any other grievous crime they had committed, but only for that they trusted in the living God. Howbeit, we may say with the old father TERTULLIAN, (*ad Scapulam*) 'Crudelitas vestra nostra gloria est:' 'Your cruelty is our glory.'—*Defence*, p. 28. s.]

[JEWELL alludes here, and above in § 4, beside the persecution of the Roman emperors, to the strenuous endeavours made by Charles V. and his successors, to strangle the Reformation in its very birth, and, subsequently, to suppress it at all hazards. Yet the personal history of Charles V. presents a remarkable instance of the ultimate prevalence of the grace of God over human opposition. He who in the plenitude of his power had abused that power to the suppression of the truth, lived to see his errors, and, in the seclusion of the monastic retirement of his old age, to become, if not a convert, a favourer of the principles of Protestantism.]

away from the seat of Rome,* and have rather
themselves to the Gospel of CHRIST.'

¶ 6. And although the Popes had never hitherto
consider diligently and earnestly of these mat-
or though some other cares do now let^a them, and
ways pull them; or though they count these to
common and trifling studies, and nothing to apper-
the Pope's worthiness; this maketh not why our
ought to seem the worse. Or if they perchance
not see that which they see indeed, but rather will
stand the known truth, ought we therefore by and
be counted *heretics*, because we obey not their
and pleasure?

¶ 7. If so be that Pope Pius [the IV.] were the
(we say not, which he would so gladly be called,)
if he were indeed a man that either would account

The seat, i. e. the episcopal chair: a metaphorical expression,
used to designate the *see*, or *bishopric* of Rome, and here signify-
the whole system of the papacy, with all its errors in doctrine, and
visions to temporal power.)

In the year 1536, well-founded apprehensions of the interposition
lar power to put down the spreading Reformation, gave occasion.
league of Smalcald. In that league, the reigning Elector of
y, and his brother; three Dukes of Brunswick; the Duke of
mberg; the Landgrave of Hesse; four brothers, Princes of Anhalt;
ikes of Pomerania; two Counts of Mansfeld; and the deputies of
y-one free states, some of them among the most considerable in
pire; bound themselves to mutual defence in the free profession
otestantism. When JEWELL wrote, besides several minor states,
ngdoms of England, Sweden, and Denmark, several cantons of
erland, and the Provinces of Holland, then struggling for political
nce, were to be added to the list.

rding, the Jesuit, made some captious sneers at what he called
ists of Protestants relative to their numerical strength. In reply,
LL appositely quotes from ARNOBIUS: "'Ne nobis de nostra
ntia blandiamur. Multi nobis videmur: sed Deo admodum
sumus. Nos gentes nationesque distinguimus. Deo unus
est mundus hic totus.' *Contra Gentes*, Lib. viii. 'Let us not
ourselves of our great multitudes. Unto ourselves we seem
; but unto God we are but few. We put difference between
and nation; but unto God the whole world is but one house.'"
ice, p. 37.]

Let, i. e. hinder. The word is thus used in several passages of
ible, and Common Prayer, where the total change which custom
ade in its signification, might lead the incautious reader into
nus error.]

us for his brethren, or at least would take us to be men— he would first diligently have examined our reasons, and would have seen what might be said with us, what against us ; and would not in his Bull, whereby he lately pretended a council,* so rashly have condemned so great a part of the world—so many learned and godly men—so many commonwealths—so many kings—and so many princes, only upon his own blind prejudices and fore-determinations, and that without hearing of them speak, or without showing cause why.

Sect. 8. But because he hath already so noted [set a stigma upon] us openly—lest by holding our peace we should seem to grant a fault, especially because we can by no means have audience in the public assembly of the general council,† wherein he would no creature should have power to give his voice, or to declare his opinion, except he were sworn, and straitly bound to maintain his [the Pope's] authority ; (for we have had good experience hereof in the last conference at the Council of Trent, where the ambassadors and divines of the princes of Germany, and of the free cities, were quite shut out from their company ;—neither can we yet forget how Julius the third, above ten years past, provided warily, by his writ, that none of our sort should be suffered to speak in the council, except that there were some man peradventure that would recant, and change his opinion ;) for this cause chiefly, we thought it good to yield up an account of our faith in writing,

* [The *Council*, called, from its place of assemblage, of *Trent*, which was summoned by Pope Paul III., after many delays and evasions by himself and his predecessors, at the pressing instance of the emperor Charles V. It met in 1545, and continued its sittings at intervals until 1563. It consisted of 6 Cardinals, 4 Legates of the Pope, 3 (nominal) Patriarchs, 32 Archbishops, 228 Bishops, 5 Abbots, 7 Generals of Orders of Regular Monks, and a multitude of other theologians, who assisted in its debates. These were gathered from Italy, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and France. The Romish Church in the latter country, however, has never fully admitted the authority of this Council, although sanctioned by the bull of Pope Pius IV., alluded to by JEWELL.]

† ["In the year 1552, when the agents of the emperor Charles V. pressed the Pope's legates to give the Lutherans a hearing, they received for answer, that it was against the rules of the Church to treat with professed heretics."—*Campbell*.]

and truly and openly to make an answer to those things wherewith we have been openly charged; to the end the world may see the parts and foundations of that doctrine in the behalf whereof so many good men have little regarded their own lives. And that all men may understand what manner of people they be, and what opinion they have of God and of religion, whom the Bishop of Rome, before they were called to tell their tale, hath condemned for heretics* without any good consideration, without any example, and utterly without law or right; only because he heard tell that they did dissent from him and his in point of religion.

Sect. 9. And although ST. JEROME would have nobody to be patient when he is suspected of heresy, yet we will deal herein neither bitterly, nor brabblingly; nor yet be carried away with anger and heat; though he ought to be reckoned neither bitter nor brabbler, that speaketh the truth. We willingly leave this kind of eloquence to our adversaries; who, whatsoever they say against us, be it never so shrewdly or despitefully said, yet think it is said modestly and comely enough, and care nothing whether it be true or false. We need none of these shifts, which do maintain the truth.

Further, if we do show it plainly that God's holy Gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive Church, do make on our side; and that we have not without just cause left these men, but rather have returned to the Apostles and old catholic fathers: and if we shall be found to do the same, not colourably, or craftily, but in good faith before God, truly, honestly, clearly, and plainly: and if they themselves which fly our doctrine, and would be called *Catholics*,[†] shall manifestly see

* [The bull of Julius III. for summoning the Council, declares in explicit language: "Erit Concilium, ut qui temerè loquuti sunt, aut dicta recantaturi veniant, aut, *eorum inaudita causa*, in executionem jam ordinarum constitutionum *heretici declarentur et condemnentur*."]

† "There shall be a Council, that they that have spoken rashly, either may recant their sayings, or else, *without further hearing or reasoning of the matter*, may be *denounced, and condemned for heretics*, according to the constitutions already made." Quoted, from CALVIN, by JEWELL; *Defence*, p. 42.]

† [The Romanists continue this unjustifiable assumption to the present day. The word *Catholic* signifies *universal*: its mere apposi-

how all these titles of antiquity, whereof they boast ~~so~~ much, are quite shaken out of their hands, and th~~at~~ there is more pith in this our cause than they thought ~~for~~ for:—we then hope and trust that none of them w~~ill~~ be so negligent and careless of his own salvation, ~~but~~ he will at length study and bethink himself to whether part he were best to join him. Undoubtedly, except one will altogether harden his heart, and refuse to hear, he shall not repent him to give good heed to this our *Defence*, and to mark well what we say, and how truly and justly it agreeth with Christian religion.

Sect. 10. For where they call us *Heretics*, it is a crime so heinous, that unless it may be seen, unless it may be felt, and in manner may be holden with hands and fingers,* it ought not lightly to be judged, or believed, when it is laid to the charge of any Christian. For *heresy* is a forsaking of salvation—a renouncing of God's grace—a departing from the body and spirit of CHRIST.

Sect. 11. But this was ever an old and solemn [accustomed] property with them and their forefathers: if any did complain of their errors and faults, and desired to have true religion restored; straightway to condemn such for *heretics*, as men new-fangled, and factious. CHRIST for no other cause was called a Samaritan, but only for that he was thought to have fallen to a certain new religion and to be the author of a new sect. And Paul, the Apostle of CHRIST, was called before the judges, to make answer to a matter of heresy; and therefore he said: "After the way which they call

tion with *Roman* is a sufficient condemnation of those who arrogate it to themselves—"the Holy Roman Catholic Church!"—how would it sound to talk of the ENGLISH *universal* Church, or the FRENCH *universal* Church? and why not either of these, with as much propriety, as the *Roman*? It is an unwise concession on the part of Protestants, which affords the partizans of the Papacy no small advantage with the ignorant and inconsiderate, to speak of them by their *assumed* name of *Catholics*, and to use the *absurd* title '*ROMAN CATHOLIC*' when speaking of their Church.]

* [JEWELL evidently alludes to 1 John i. 1.; considering that passage as having reference to the *palpable proofs* (as we yet speak) of the truth of Christianity, possessed by the Apostles.]

heresy, so worship I the God of ~~my~~ fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets."^a [In short, all that religion which we Christians now profess, in the beginning of Christianity was, by the Pagans, called a *sect* or *heresy*.^b With these words they filled the ears of princes, that when, out of prejudice they had once possessed their minds with an aversion for us, and that they were persuaded, that whatever we said was factious and heretical, they might be diverted from reflecting upon the thing itself, or even hearing or considering the cause.]^c

CHAPTER V.

The Method of Defence proposed.

Sect. 1. But the more sore and outrageous a crime *heresy*^d is, the more it ought to be proved by plain and strong arguments; especially in this time, when men begin to give less credit to their words, and to make more diligent search of their doctrine than they were wont to do. For the people of God are otherwise instructed now than they were in times past, when all the Bishop of Rome's sayings were allowed for gospel,^e

^a Acts xxiv. 14.

^b TERTULLIANUS in *Apologetico*. [c. i. "Nimis operata *sectæ hujus* infestatio obstruit viam defensionis." JEWELL alludes to the primitive acceptance of the word *heresy*, in the signification of a *sect*, or *schismatic party*, rather than the *errors* embraced by such a *sect* or party.]

^c [The paragraph included in brackets is not contained in the folio edition of the *Apology*. As it is in the Latin, and is alluded to in the *Defence*, it has been added from the *Fathers of the English Church*, Vol. VII. p. 13.]

^d [Here JEWELL uses the word in the sense affixed to it in times posterior to the Apostolic age, and subsequently admitted into exclusive use,—that of the *maintenance of false doctrine, or opinions contrary to the word of God.*]

^e [How little exaggeration there is in this application of a common saw, appears by JEWELL's defence of it against HARDING's exceptions. "In the late new Council of Lateran [that held in the Lateran at

and when all religion did depend only upon their authority. Now-a-days, the holy Scripture is abroad, the writings of the Apostles and Prophets are in print, whereby all truth and Catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresy may be disproved and confuted.

Since then they bring forth none of these for themselves, and call us nevertheless heretics, which have neither fallen from CHRIST, nor from the Apostles, nor yet from the Prophets, this is an injurious and a very spiteful dealing.

Sect. 2. With this sword did CHRIST put off the devil, when he was tempted of him:⁵ with these weapons ought all presumption which doth advance itself against GOD,⁶ to be overthrown and conquered. For "all Scripture," saith St. Paul, "is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Thus did the holy fathers always fight against the heretics with none other force than with the holy Scriptures.

St. AUGUSTINE, when he disputed against PETILIAN, the Donatist heretic: "Let not these words," quoth he, "be heard between us, I say, or, You say: let us rather speak in this wise: Thus saith the LORD. There

Rome in 1512—1517] under Pope Leo [the Tenth] these words are openly pronounced, and well allowed of: "In Papa est omnis potestas, supra omnes potestates, tam cali, quam terræ." 'In the Pope is all power, above all powers, as well of heaven as of earth.' *Conc. Lat. Sess. 10. in oratione Ep. Petracensis.*—"Sylvester Prierias, late Master of Pope Leo's palace, writeth thus: 'Indulgentiæ autoritate Scripturæ non innotuere nobis, sed autoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ major est.' 'Pardons [the Romish indulgences] are not warranted unto us by the authority of God's word, but by the authority of the Roman Church, and of the Bishops of Rome, which is greater.' If this be not sufficient, he addeth further, 'a doctrina Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Romani Pontificis, Sacra Scriptura robur et auctoritatem trahit.' 'The holy Scripture taketh strength and authority of the doctrine of the Bishop and Church of Rome.' *Sylv. Prierias contra Lutherum.*" *Defence*, p. 49.]

⁵ 2 Timothy iii. 16, 17.

⁶ Matt. iv. Heb. iv. 12.

⁶ 2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

* See *Standard Works*, Vol. II. p. 121.

Let us seek the Church: there let us bould out the cause."¹

Likewise St. JEROME: "All those things," saith he, which without the testimony of the Scriptures are olden, as delivered from the Apostles, be thoroughly mitted down by the sword of God's word."²

¹ *AUGUSTINUS de Unitate Ecclesie*, c. 3. The same sentiment is so found in his book *Contra Maximin. Arianor. Episc.* Lib. iii. c. 14. 'St. AUGUSTINE, in the same matter, and against the same heretic, *etilian*, although not in the same book, writeth thus: 'Sive de *CHRISTO*, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunque re alia quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicum si nos, sed, si angelus de celo, nobis annuntiaverit præterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus et angelicis accepistis, Anathema sit.' 'Whether it be of *CHRIST*, or of his Church, or of any thing else whatsoever pertaining either to our life or to our faith, I will not say, if I, but if an angel from heaven, shall teach us otherwise than we have received in the books of the Law and in the Gospels, hold him accursed.' *Contra Liler. Petilian. lib. iii. c. 6.*" *Defence*, p. 57; where JEWELL quotes several other passages from AUGUSTIN, AMBROSE, CHRYSOSTOM, and ORIGEN, to the same purpose, and full as strong.

AUGUSTINE, or, as the name is often abbreviated, AUSTIN, was bishop of Hippo, in Africa, in the early part of the fifth century. After a dissipated youth, he embraced the errors of the Manichees, which he renounced in his 32d year, being converted partly by the preaching of AMBROSE, bishop of Milan, partly by the perusal of St. Paul's epistles. He was ordained priest in 388 or 389, and at the request of Valerius, then Bishop of Hippo, consecrated joint bishop of that diocese in 393.

His talents, and ardent disposition, rather than any extraordinary degree of learning, brought him forward prominently in the religious disputes of his day. In those with the Donatist schismatics, with his former associates the Manicheans, and with the Pelagians, he was the acknowledged champion of the Church. His zeal against the Pelagians drove him into the contrary extreme, and, his ignorance of the Greek language probably helping not a little, produced that system which, revived and set in its strongest light by CALVIN, has derived its name from that reformer.

AUSTIN is without doubt the most eminent, and perhaps the most useful of the later Latin fathers. His writings gave the tone to LUTHER's opinions, which afterwards led to his rejection of the entire body of Romish error.]

² *In Primum Cap. Aggai.* "Sed et alia quæ absque autoritate et testimoniis Scripturarum, quasi traditione Apostolica, reperiunt atque confingunt, percutit gladius DEI."

[In the text the word *alia* [other] is improperly rendered as if it had been *omnia* [all.] The mistake was pointed out, in no gentle terms, by HARDING, and is acknowledged by JEWELL, who observes, however, that the pertinency of the declaration of JEROME to his argument is not affected by the change. That writer had been treating of errors for which authority from the word of God had been pretended,

St. AMBROSE also, to Gratian the Emperor: "Let the Scripture," saith he, "be asked the question; let the Prophets be asked; and let CHRIST be asked."¹

and had said that the same word afforded a sufficient confutation of those false pretensions. He then adds that *other* errors, pretending only 'apostolical tradition' for their support, were irrefragably destroyed by the same 'sword of the Spirit.' The inference that he regarded pretended apostolical authority, unsupported by the Scriptures, as insufficient, remains as strong as though the reading in the text were correct.

JEROME (in Latin HIERONYMUS) is, of all the Latin fathers, the most renowned for eloquence and learning. He was born at Stridon, a city in Pannonia, (now Hungary,) in 331. After travelling extensively, embracing a recluse life in a desert in Syria, and quitting it in consequence of persecution, he received holy orders, in Jerusalem, about the 45th year of his age, but with a stipulation on his own part, to be confined to the charge of no particular congregation. He subsequently visited Constantinople and Rome, in which last city he received the appointment of secretary to Damasus, then its bishop. At Rome he instructed several ladies of high rank in the languages and the Holy Scriptures. Fancied ill treatment from Siricius, the successor of Damasus, drove him again to Syria, where he resided in a monastery at Bethlehem, until his death in 420.

The works of JEROME are voluminous, and diversified in their character and subjects. The best are those on Sacred literature, and his Epistles. The Latin translation of the Bible, recognized as the only authentic version by the Church of Rome, and known as the *Vulgate*, is his production.

JEROME's learning far surpassed both his judgment and his Christian temper. Meekness, and patience under injuries and opposition, formed a very small proportion of his character; and even his regard for truth was not always proof against the keenness of his resentment, or his thirst for victory.]

¹ *Ad Gratianum de Fide*, Lib. I. "Interrogentur Scripturæ; interrogentur Apostoli; interrogentur Prophetæ; interrogetur CHRISTUS."

[AMBROSE, bishop of Milan from 375 to 397, was raised to that dignity by popular acclamation, in the 41st year of his age, when he was only a catechumen. His eloquence and blameless life, together with his successful interference, as governor of the city, to appease the tumultuous contest between the Catholics and Arians respecting the choice of a bishop, procured him this unexampled honour. The firm dignity and holy zeal with which he discharged the duties of his office, during times full of trouble and distress, showed that it had not been ill bestowed. The anecdote of his excluding the emperor Theodosius from communion, on account of the massacre at Thessalonica, is well known. His victory over the Pagan orator Symmachus, in the dispute respecting the re-erection of the temple of Victory, is not less celebrated. His oration on that occasion is still extant.]

AMBROSE, as might be expected from the circumstances of his elevation to the episcopate, was a better moralist than theologian. His writings are full of warmth and practical devotion, but not distinguished for solidity or sound Scriptural knowledge.]

For at that time made the Catholic fathers and bishops no doubt but that our religion might be proved out of the holy Scriptures. Neither were they ever so hardy as to take any for a heretic, whose error they could not evidently and apparently reprove by the self-same Scriptures. And we verily do make answer on this wise as St. Paul did: "After the way which they call heresy, so worship we the God of our fathers,^m believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets" or in the Apostles' works."

Sect. 3. Wherefore if we be *heretics*, and they (as they would fain be called) be *Catholics*, why do they not as they see the fathers, which were catholic men, have always done? Why do they not convince and master us by the divine Scriptures? Why do they not call us again to be tried by them? Why do they not lay before us how we have gone away from CHRIST, from the prophets, from the Apostles, and from the holy fathers? Why are they afraid of it? It is God's cause: why are they doubtful to commit it to the trial of God's word? If we be heretics, which refer all our controversies unto the holy Scriptures, and report us to the self-same words which we know were sealed by God himself, and in comparison of them set little by all other things, whatsoever may be devised by men; how shall we say to these folk, I pray you? What manner of men be *they*; and how is it meet to call them, which fear the judgment of the holy Scriptures, that is to say, the judgment of God himself, and do prefer before them

^m Acts xxiv. 14. ["God and the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST;" JEWELL has it: evidently quoting from memory, and confounding this passage with 2 Cor. i. 3, or some similar text.]

ⁿ [JEWELL'S OWN summary of this section is worth insertion—"We deny not the learned fathers' *expositions and judgments in doubtful cases of the Scriptures*. We read them ourselves. We follow them. We embrace them. And, as I said before, we most humbly thank God for them. But thus we say, The same fathers' *opinions and judgments*, forasmuch as they are sometimes disagreeable one from another, and sometimes imply contrarieties and contradictions, therefore, alone and of themselves, without further authority and guiding of God's word, are not always sufficient warrants to change our faith. And thus the learned catholic fathers themselves have evermore taught us to esteem and to weigh the fathers." *Defence*, p. 63.]

their own dreams and full cold inventions—and to maintain their own traditions, have defaced and corrupted now these many hundred years the ordinances of CHRIST and of the Apostles?

Sect. 4. Men say that SOPHOCLES, the tragic poet, when in his old days he was by his own sons accused before the judges for a doting and sottish man, as one that fondly wasted his own substance, and seemed to need a governor to see to him: to the intent he might clear himself of the fault, he came into the place of judgment, and when he had rehearsed before them his tragedy called *Œdipus Coloneus*, which he had written at the very time of his accusation, marvellous exactly and cunningly did ask the judges in his own behalf, whether they thought any sottish or doting man could do the like piece of work? In like manner, because these men take us to be mad, and impeach us for heretics, as men which have nothing to do, neither with CHRIST, nor with the Church of God; we have judged it should be to good purpose, and not unprofitable, if we do openly and frankly set forth our faith, wherein we stand, and show all that confidence which we have in CHRIST JESUS, to the intent all men may see what is our judgment of every part of the Christian religion, and may resolve with themselves whether the faith which they shall see confirmed by the words of CHRIST, by the writings of the Apostles, by the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and by the examples of many ages, be but a certain rage of furious and mad men, and a conspiracy of heretics.

This, therefore, is our belief.

* [JEWELL's language is strong, but fully borne out by such passages as the following:—"Si quis habeat interpretationem Ecclesiæ Romanæ de loco aliquo Scripturæ, etiamsi nec sciat, nec intelligat, an, et quomodo, cum Scripturæ verbis conveniat, tamen habet ipsissimum verbum DEI." "If a man have the exposition of the Church of Rome touching any place of the Scriptures, although he neither know nor understand whether, and how, it agreeth with the words of the Scripture, yet he hath the very word of God." *HOSIUS de expresse Verbo DEI*, quoted in the *Defence*, p. 69.]

CHAPTER VI.

The Doctrine received in the Church of England.

Sect. 1. Of the Divine Nature.—We believe that **there is one certain nature and divine power, which we call God** : and that the same is divided into three equal persons ; into the **FATHER**, into the **SON**, and into the **HOLY GHOST** : and that they all be of one power, of one majesty, of one eternity, of one **GODHEAD**, and of one substance. And although these three persons be so divided, that neither the **FATHER** is the **SON**, nor the **SON** is the **HOLY GHOST**, or the **FATHER** ; yet, nevertheless, we believe that there is but one very God : and that the same one God hath created heaven and earth, and all things contained under heaven.

Sect. 2. The Incarnation of Christ.—We believe that **JESUS CHRIST**, the only Son of the eternal **FATHER**, (as long before it was determined, before all beginnings,) when the fulness of time did come, did take of that blessed and pure Virgin, both flesh and all the nature of man, that he might declare to the world the secret and hid will of his Father ; which will had been laid up from before all ages and generations : and that he might full finish in his human body the mystery of our redemption, and might fasten our sins to the cross, and also that handwriting which was made against us.^p

Sect. 3. The Passion and Ascension of CHRIST.—We believe, that for our sakes he died, and was buried, descended into hell, the third day by the power of his Godhead returned to life and rose again ; and that the fortieth day after his resurrection, whilst his disciples beheld and looked upon him, he ascended into heaven, to fulfil all things ; and did place in majesty and glory the self-same body, wherewith he was born, wherein he lived on earth, wherein he was jested at, wherein he

^p Coloss. ii. 14.

had suffered most painful torments and cruel kind of death, wherein he rose again, and wherein he ascended to the right hand of the FATHER, above all power, all force, all dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come :^q and that there he now sitteth, and shall sit, til all things be full perfected.^r And although the majesty and Godhead of CHRIST be everywhere abundantly dispersed, yet we believe that "his body," as ST. AUGUSTINE^s saith, "must needs be still in one place :"^t and that CHRIST hath given majesty unto his body, but yet hath not taken away from it the nature of a body : and that we must not so affirm CHRIST to be GOD, that we deny him to be *man* :^u and as the martyr VIGILIUS saith, that "CHRIST hath left us as touching his human nature, but hath not left us as touching the divine nature :"^v and that the same CHRIST, "though he be absent from us concerning his manhood, yet is ever present with us concerning his GODHEAD."^w

^q AUGUSTINI *Tractat. 30 in Joannem*. "Secundum carnem quam verbum assumpsit : secundum id quod de virgine natus est : secundum id quod a Judæis prehensus est : quod ligno confixus : quod de cruce depositus : quod linteis involutus : quod in sepulchro conditus : quod in resurrectione manifestatus, Me non semper habebitis vobiscum."—Phil. ii. 9.

^r Acts iii. 21.

^s AUGUSTINI *Tractat. 50 in Joannem*.

^t AUGUSTINI *Ep. 57 ad Dardanum*. "Cavendum est ne ita Divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus."

^u VIGILII TAPSENSIS *Lib. 1 contra Eutychem*. "DEI filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit a nobis : secundum divinitatem suam semper est nobiscum."

[VIGILIUS, called from his birth-place *Tapsensis*, i. e. of Tapsa, was bishop of Cette, in Africa, in the 6th century. He wrote Five Books against the Nestorian and Eutychian Heresies. The creed called the *Athanasian* is supposed to be his production.]

^v FULGENTII *ad Regem Thrasymundum*. "Christus, cum absit a nobis per formam servi, tamen semper est nobiscum per formam DEI."

[FULGENTIUS, bishop of Ruspa, in Africa, was raised to that office in the 40th year of his age, in 407. He was a man of considerable learning, and had filled a high civil station with credit. He was banished to Sardinia, for his adherence to the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, but recalled in 533. He died at the age of 65.

But few of the works of FULGENTIUS are extant. They are mostly on abstruse theological questions, but manifest considerable learning and eloquence.]

Sect. 4. The Judgment.—From that place, also, we believe that CHRIST shall come again to execute that general judgment, as well of them whom he shall then find alive in the body, as of them that shall be already dead.

Sect. 5. The HOLY GHOST.—We believe that the HOLY GHOST, who is the third person in the holy Trinity, is very GOD: not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding from both the FATHER and the SON, by a certain mean unknown unto man, and unspeakable: and that it is His property to mollify and soften the hardness of man's heart, when He is once received thereinto, either by the wholesome preaching of the gospel, or by any other way: that He doth give men light, and guide them unto the knowledge of GOD, to all way of truth, to newness of the whole life, and to everlasting hope of salvation.

Sect. 6. The Church.—We believe that there is one Church of GOD, and that the same is not shut up (as in times past among the Jews) into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world. So that there is now no nation which may truly complain that they be shut forth, and may not be one of the Church and people of GOD. And that this Church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of CHRIST: that CHRIST alone is the prince of this kingdom: that CHRIST alone is the head of this body: and that CHRIST alone is the bridegroom of this spouse.

* ["I grant, bishops may be called *heads* of their several Churches. So CHRYSOSTOM (*in Ep. ad Rom.* 18.) calleth Elias 'the *head* of the prophets.' So Saul is called 'the *head* of the tribes of Israel.' (1 Sam. xv. 17.) So Cyril the bishop of Alexandria in the council of Ephesus was called '*Head* of the bishops there assembled.' So ST. GREGORY saith, '*Paulus ad CHRISTUM conversus, caput effectus est nationum.*'—'*Paul being once converted to CHRIST, was made the head of the nations.*' (*in 1 Reg. lib. iv. cap. 4.*) In this sense OPTATUS saith, (*Lib. 1 et 2.*) '*There be four sorts of heads in the Church: the bishops, the priests, the deacons, and the faithful.*' And all this only in a certain kind of phrase, and manner of speech. But indeed and verily ST. AUSTIN saith, '*Paulus ipse non poterat caput esse eorum, quos plantaverat.*'—'*Paul himself could not be the head of those whom he had planted.*' (*Contra Liter. Petilian. Lib. I. cap. 5.*)"—*Defence*, p. 84.]

Sect. 7. The Ministry.—Furthermore, we believe that there be divers degrees of ministers in the Church: whereof some be Deacons, some Priests, some Bishops; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the whole charge and setting forth of religion.

Yet notwithstanding, we say that there neither is, nor can be, any one man which may have the whole superiority in this universal state; for that CHRIST is ever present to assist his Church, and needeth not any man to supply his room, as his only heir to all his substance: and that there can be no one mortal creature which is able to comprehend, or conceive in his mind, the universal Church^x—that is, to wit, all the parts of the world; much less able rightly and duly to put them in order, and to govern them.^y

For “all the apostles,” as ST. CYPRIAN saith, “were of like power among themselves, and the rest were the same that Peter was.”^z And that it was said indiffer-

^x [“But for the unity and quiet government of the Church, St. Paul saith, CHRIST ascending above all heavens, hath given—not one universal Pope to rule the whole, but—‘some apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of CHRIST: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man.’ *Ephes. iv. 11, 12, 13.* By these means God thought it sufficient to preserve his Church in unity, and never made mention of one Universal Pope.

Therefore ST. CYPRIAN saith, ‘Unus est episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.’—‘There is but one bishopric; part whereof of every several bishop is holden in whole.’ (*De Simplicitate Prælator.*) And again, ‘Ideo plures sunt in Ecclesia sacerdotes, ut, uno hæresim faciente, cæteri subveniant.’—‘Therefore are there many bishops in the Church, that if one fall into heresy, the rest may help.’ (*Epist. 13. Lib. III.*) Thus, when Peter walked not uprightly to the gospel, Paul came with help, and reprovèd him openly, even to his face; (*Gal. ii.*) thus IRENÆUS reprovèd Pope VICTOR: thus sundry godly fathers have reprovèd others.”—*Defence*, p. 93, 94.]

^y [“ST. GREGORY said sometime to John, the bishop of Constantinople, claiming unto himself the same title, [of *Universal Bishop*] and thinking himself able enough to rule the whole: ‘Quid tu CHRISTO, universalis Ecclesiæ Capiti, in extremi judicii responsurus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibi conaris *Universalis* appellatione supponere?’—‘What answer wilt thou make, in the trial of the last judgment, unto CHRIST the Head of his universal Church; that thou by the name of *Universal Bishop* seekest to bring under thee all the members of his body?’—*Defence*, p. 94.]

^z “Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari con-

ently to them all, 'Feed ye;' indifferently to them all, 'Go into the whole world;' indifferently to them all, 'Teach ye the gospel.'^a And as ST. JEROME saith, "All bishops, wheresoever they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like pre-eminence, and of like priesthood."^b And as CYPRIAN saith, "there is but one bishopric, and a piece thereof is perfectly and wholly holden of every particular bishop."^c

And, according to the judgment of the Nicene Council, we say, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the Church of God than the rest of the Patriarchs, either of Alexandria, or of Antioch, have.^d

sortio præditi et honoris et potestatis."—CYPRIAN. *De Simplicitate Prælatorum.*

[CYPRIAN was born at Carthage, of heathen parents, about the beginning of the third century. His conversion to Christianity did not take place until A. D. 246. Previously to that event he had taught rhetoric in Carthage, with much success. His reputation, and some treatises which he published in defence of Christianity, procured him ordination to the priesthood within a few months from his baptism; and on the death of the Bishop of Carthage, in 248, Cyprian was chosen his successor. His discharge of that office was rendered peculiarly difficult by the persecution under the emperor Decius, which began in 249, and by several disputes which agitated the Church about that time. In particular, the questions, whether persons baptized by heretics were to receive that sacrament again; and whether Christians who had renounced their faith to avoid persecution were to be re-admitted; occupied much of his attention, and gave occasion to most of his writings.]

Cyprian was beheaded in the persecution under Valerian, in the year 258. His works consist of a number of letters, and several small treatises. They are principally valuable on account of the light which they throw upon the ministry and government of the Church in that age.]

^a John xx. 21; 22, 23. Mark xvi. 15.

^b "Ubique fuerit episcopus, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopolis, sive Alexandria, sive Tanai, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est sacerdotii." HIERON. *Epist. ad Eragrium*. [Eugubium, now Eugubio, or Gubio, is a small town in Urbino, in Italy; the seat of a bishopric. It is named by JEROME on account of its diminutive size as an episcopal see, compared with that of Rome.]

^c CYPRIANUS *de Simplicitate Prælatorum*; as quoted above.

^d *Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice*. ["The sense is this: the whole body of Christendom was divided into four Patriarchships; whereof the first was Rome; [i. e. it was allowed to be the first in rank and dignity, because that city was esteemed the most ancient and greatest in the world;] the second Alexandria; the third Antioch; the fourth Jerusalem. And each of these was limited and bounded

And as for the Bishop of Rome, who now calleth all matters before himself alone; except he do his duty as he ought to do, except he minister the sacraments, except he instruct the people, except he warn them, and teach them, we say that he ought not of right once to be called a Bishop, or so much as an Elder. For "a Bishop," as saith ST. AUGUSTINE, "is a name of labour, and not of honour:"* that the man that seeketh to have pre-eminence, and not to profit, may understand himself to be no bishop.

And that neither the Pope, nor any other worldly creature, can no more be head of the whole Church, or a bishop over all,^f than he can be the 'Bridegroom,' the 'Light,' the 'Salvation,' and 'Life,' of the Church. For these privileges and names belong only to CHRIST, and be properly and only fit for him alone.

And that no Bishop of Rome did ever suffer himself to be called by such a proud name and title, before Phocas the emperor's time, (who, as we know, by killing his own sovereign Maurice, the emperor, did by a traitorous villany aspire to the empire,) which was about

within itself: *Alexandria* to have the oversight over Egypt and Pentapolis; *Antioch* over Syria; *Jerusalem* over Jewry; *Rome* over Italy, and other Churches of the West."—*Defence*, p. 109.]

* "Episcopus nomen est operis, non honoris." AUGUST. in 1 Tim. iii. 1.

[JEWELL quotes CHRYSOSTOM, AMBROSE and GREGORY, to the same effect; and then, to justify himself against the charge of nullifying ministerial orders, goes on: "Yet notwithstanding—let him be so called *equivoce*, that is, by a word of double meaning; as unsavoury salt is called *salt*; or as the prophets of Baal are called *prophets*; or as a painted man is called a *man*: and as ST. GREGORY saith, 'Let him in words be called a priest, although indeed he be no priest.' Let him be called a teacher, although he teach not. Let him be called a feeder, although he feed not."—*Defence*, p. 111.]

^f ["That the old learned and godly bishops of Rome refused this name [of Universal Bishop] as proud and arrogant, it is so plain by ST. GREGORY, that I marvel any learned man would call it in question. His words thereof be these: 'Nullus decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit: nullus Romanorum pontificorum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit: nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere.'—'None of my predecessors, bishops of Rome, ever consented to use this ungodly name; no bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity: we, the bishop of Rome, will not receive this honour. being offered unto us.' GREGOR. Lib. IV. Ep. 32. et 36."—*Defence*, p. 112.]

the six hundred and thirteenth year after CHRIST was born.⁵

Also the Council of Carthage did circumspectly provide, that no bishop should be called either the Highest Bishop, or Chief Priest.⁶

And therefore, since the Bishop of Rome will now-a-days so be called, and challengeth unto himself an authority that is none of his :¹ besides that he doth plainly contrary to the ancient councils, and contrary to the old fathers ; we believe that he doth give to himself, as it is written by his own companion, GREGORY, “ a presumptuous, a profane, a sacrilegious, and an antichristian name ;” that he is also “ the king of pride ;” that he is “ Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren ;” that he “ hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of Antichrist.”²

⁵ [Maurice, in consequence of his avarice, incurred the hatred of the soldiery, who rose in mutiny, so that he was obliged to fly to Chalcedon. During his residence there, he was murdered, with his wife, his children, and every branch of his family, by the centurion Phocas, who was raised by the mutinous army to the imperial rank. At that time, John, bishop of Constantinople, claimed the title of *Universal Bishop*, but was vehemently opposed by Pelagius II. the bishop of Rome, who issued counter decrees, declaring his pretensions void. Gregory the First, successor of Pelagius, continued his opposition to John, and in the Council of Chalcedon claimed the title in dispute, as having belonged to his own predecessors, though waived by them in courtesy. Gregory had urged the emperor Maurice to prevent the assumption of the title “ Universal Bishop ” by John of Constantinople. Boniface III. a successor of Gregory, by repeated and urgent entreaties, obtained a rescript of the usurper Phocas, conferring it on himself.]

⁶ [*Conc. Carthag. Tert. Can. 26.* ‘Præ sedis episcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, vel Summus Sacerdos, vel aliquid hujusmodi : sed tantum præ sedis episcopus.’ To which, in *GRATIAN’S Decret. Distinct. 99. Prima.* is added, ‘Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur.’—‘Let not even the Bishop of Rome be called Universal Bishop.’—*Defence*, p. 114.]

¹ [“Pope CLEMENT saith, ‘Omnes subjecta sunt motioni Papæ : et sunt in illo, quasi membra de membro.’—‘All men are subject to the Pope’s will, and are in him, as members of a member.’ *Lib. V. de Hæreticis.* Ad vestrum. Another saith, ‘Papa est ordinarius totius mundi.’—‘The Pope is the ordinary, or bishop, of the whole world.’ *De Major. et Obedient. Unam Sanctam.* And therefore Pope BONIFACE VIII. hath concluded by solemn sentence, ‘That every creature must submit itself unto the Bishop of Rome, upon the pain of everlasting damnation.’ ”—*Defence*, p. 117.]

² GREGOR. *Lib. IV. Ep. 76. 78. 80. Lib. VII. Epist. 69.*

Sect. 8. Orders.—Further we say, that the Minister ought lawfully,¹ duly, and orderly^m to be preferred to that office of the Church of God, and that no man hath power to wrest himself in the holy ministry at his own pleasure. Wherefore these persons do us the greater wrong, which have nothing so common in their mouths as that we do nothing orderly and comely,ⁿ but all things

¹ "No man shall be accounted or taken to be a *lawful* Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, and examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination." *Preface to the Ordinal.*]

^m [JEWELL refers here, doubtless, to the *mode* of conferring ministerial authority, as he had, in the word 'lawfully' to the *source* of such authority. On this subject he adds: "We deny not the consecration of three bishops [the need of three bishops to consecrate regularly.] We deny not the confirmation [of their act by the assent] of the Metropolitan. We ourselves are so consecrated, and so confirmed." *Defence*, p. 125. "Our bishops are made, in form and order, as they have been ever, by the election of the chapter;* by consecration of the Archbishop and other three bishops; and by the admission of the Prince." *Defence*, p. 131. "To be short, we succeed the bishops that have been before our days. We are elected, consecrated, confirmed, and admitted, as they were. If they were deceived in anything, we succeed them in place, but not in error." *Defence*, p. 132.

ⁿ "The first promulgators of the 'new doctrines' (as those of the reformation were then styled) had held very loose opinions with regard to the ministerial office and character, and had thus afforded considerable ground for such outcries on the part of their adversaries. Nothing is more common in the writings which came out in the first dawn of the reformation, than to accompany invectives against the corruptions of the clergy with the declaration that they wholly destroyed the ministerial character; and entire independence of the ministry—making the very being of the Church to consist wholly in purity of doctrine—is not unseldom insinuated in very unguarded language. Traces of these notions are occasionally discoverable in the *Defence* of JEWELL himself, notwithstanding that the xxvith and xixth Articles, already adopted, are so explicitly contrary. It is not to be wondered, then, that the Romanists should exclaim against the *disorderly* principles of their opponents, however little such imputations were deserved by

* The clergy of the cathedral church, convened for the choice of a bishop. The chapter consists of a *Dean*, who is its head, and a certain number of *Prebendaries* (as they are styled in some churches) or *Canons*, as they are termed in others.—These, let it be remembered, are merely names of *office*, not as sometimes erroneously represented, of *orders* in the ministry. The *Chapter* is an assembly of *Presbyters*, who convene for the election of their *Bishop*; the *dean*, and the *prebendaries* or *canons*, are in every respect equal in ministerial character and functions; they are *presbyters*, and nothing more.

The election of a bishop by the Chapter, in the Church of England, is now little more than a form. The king sends to the Chapter a *conge d'elire* or "leave to elect" some individual who is named in the instrument; and that individual is chosen accordingly. The subsequent steps are still the same as described by Jewell.

troublesomely, and without order; and that we allow every man to be a priest, to be a teacher, and to be an interpreter of the Scriptures.

Sect. 9. Power of the keys.—Moreover we say, that CHRIST hath given to his ministers power to bind, to loose, to open, to shut.^p

And we say, that the office of *loosing* consisteth in this point: that the Minister, either by the preaching of the gospel offereth the merits of CHRIST, and full pardon, to such as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent themselves, pronouncing unto the same a sure and undoubted forgiveness of their sins, and hope of everlasting salvation; or else, that the same Minister, when any have offended their brothers' minds with some great offence, or notable and open crime, whereby they have, as it were, banished and made themselves strangers from the common fellowship, and from the body of CHRIST—then, after perfect amendment of such persons, doth reconcile them, and bring them home again, and restore them to the company and unity of the faithful.^q

the Church of England as finally settled on the principles of the reformation.]

^p [From Matth. xvi. 19, the ministerial right to administer and withhold the covenant privileges of the Church, has been currently termed the *Power of the Keys*.]

^q [Matt. xvi. 19. xviii. 18. John xx. 23.]

^q [Two kinds of *absolution* are here recognized. First, *virtual*—by declaration of the *terms of pardon*: such are the forms of absolution in our service. Second, *official*—by the readmission of expelled communicants. A statement, the same in effect, is made by BURNET: "Upon repentance sincerely begun, and honestly pursued, we do in general, as the heralds of God's mercy, and the ministers of his gospel, pronounce to our people daily, the offers that are made us of mercy and pardon by CHRIST JESUS. This we do in our daily service, and in a more peculiar manner before we go to the holy communion. We do also, as we are a body that may be offended with the sins of others, forgive the scandals committed against the Church." *On the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 273.

In the early Church, a public and solemn form of absolution for *individual* penitents was in use. "The order hereof, as it is set forth by S. CYPRIAN, was this: first, the sinner by many outward gestures and tokens showed himself to be penitent, and sorrowful for his sin; after that, he made humble confession thereof before the whole congregation, and desired his brethren to pray for him; lastly, the bishop and the clergy laid their hands over him, and so reconciled him." JEWELL, *Defence*, p. 147.]

We say also, that the Minister doth execute the authority of *binding* and *shutting*, as often as he shutteth up the gate of the kingdom of heaven against unbelieving and stubborn persons, denouncing unto them God's vengeance, and everlasting punishment :^r or else, when he doth quite shut them out of the bosom of the Church by open excommunication.

Out of doubt, what sentence soever the minister of God shall give in this sort, God himself doth so well allow it, that whatsoever here on earth by their means is loosed and bound, God himself will loose and bind, and confirm the same in heaven.^a

And touching *the keys*,^r wherewith they may either shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we with CHRYSOSTOM say, "they be the knowledge of the Scriptures ;"^a

^r "CHRIST himself saith 'If any man hear any words and believe not, I judge him not—he that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; *the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.*' John xii. 47, 48. Likewise saith St. Paul, 'We are—a sweet savour of CHRIST, in them that are saved, and in them that perish: to the one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life.' 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16. And again: 'If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost.' 2 Cor. iv. 3. So saith God unto the Prophet Ezekiel: 'If thou warn the wicked, and he turn not from his wickedness, nor from his wicked way, he shall die in his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.' Ezek. iii. 19. To be short, the whole Scriptures are full hereof: and therefore AUGUSTINE saith, 'Prædicatur Evangelium quibusdam ad præmium, quibusdam ad iudicium.' 'The gospel is preached to some unto reward, to some unto judgment.' *Epist. 49 ad Deogratias.* JEWELL, *Defence* p. 149.

^a Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 23.

^r "We confound not these keys. We say that the *power*, as well of loosing, as also of binding, standeth in God's word: and the *exercise* or operation of the same, standeth either in preaching, or else in sentence of correction, or ecclesiastical discipline." *Defence*, p. 148.

^a CHRYSOSTOMUS, in *Opere Imperfecto*, Hom. xlv. "*Clavis est scientia Scripturarum, per quam asperitur janua veritatis.*" [JEWELL invariably quotes the Latin translation of CHRYSOSTOM, as the Greek text had not yet been published when he wrote.

CHRYSOSTOM, who received that name (signifying *the golden-mouthed*) for his superior eloquence, from Libanius the Sophist, his teacher, was Bishop of Constantinople at the close of the fourth century. For an inexhaustible vein of noble eloquence, and for judicious interpretation of the Scriptures, he stands pre-eminent among all the fathers. While a presbyter he was so greatly distinguished for his abilities as a preacher, that although born and resident at Antioch, he was unanimously chosen by the clergy and people of Constantinople to be their bishop, and urged by the emperor Arcadius to yield his

with TERTULLIAN we say, "they be the interpretation of the Law;" and with EUSEBIUS we call them "the word of God." Moreover, that CHRIST's disciples did

reluctant assent, in 393. After a busy and stormy episcopate, during which he was twice banished, he died of rough treatment received from his guards while in his second exile, in 407.

The works of CHRYSOSTOM, which are voluminous, consist principally of Commentaries, and Homilies or Sermons. Although tinged with the errors of the age (then verging rapidly to the superstition of the dark ages) they are replete with instructive matter, and breathe throughout the purest spirit of devotion.]

* TERTULLIANUS *contra Marcion*. Lib. iv. "Quam clarem habebant legis doctores, nisi interpretationem legis?"—"St. JEROME saith "Duces Ecclesiæ habent claves scientiæ ut aperiant Scripturas creditis sibi populis." 'The captains of the Church have the Keys of knowledge to open the Scriptures unto the people to them committed.' In *Isaiam*." *Defence*, p. 150.

[TERTULLIAN is the oldest of the Latin fathers whose writings are extant. He was a man of extensive learning and great natural abilities. His keen eloquence, and thorough acquaintance with pagan learning render his writings attractive, notwithstanding a remarkable uncouthness in their style. They are on a great variety of subjects, and of very different grades of importance. The *Apology*, written in defence of Christianity against the injurious imputation of the heathen, and the oppressions of the civil authorities, furnishes the best account of the state of the Church in that age that we possess. Others display the vehemence of the writer's temper, and the rich stores of his mind, in expostulations with the heathen, with heretics, with persons in danger of lapsing from the faith, and with the professors of doctrines which he considered erroneous.

TERTULLIAN was born at Carthage, about the middle of the second century. He had a liberal education, and is thought to have studied, if not practised, law. He was converted to Christianity about A. D. 185, and ordained Presbyter about 192. Beyond this grade of the ministry he never rose. About the commencement of the third century he embraced the errors of MONTANUS, a heretical leader of that age; and some of his works were written in defence of the austere opinions he then adopted. Of course, their value is lessened by the author's peculiar opinions. TERTULLIAN died in extreme old age, probably about 220, or later.

* EUSEBIUS (commonly called of *Cæsarea*, or from his attachment to the martyr Pamphilus, *Pamphili*) is one of the most distinguished writers of the fourth century. For learning, diligence, and talent, he was surpassed by few, if any. His opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge were extremely favourable, and his willingness to communicate it was not less. To him we owe an elaborate account of the first ages of the Church, which has deservedly obtained for him the title of 'Father of Church History.' He produced a treatise in defence of Christianity, more complete and satisfactory than any which preceded it, or followed for some time after. And the body of matter which he collected as an introduction to the knowledge of the gospel, under the

receive their authority—not that they should hear the private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings, as the common Massing-priests^x do everywhere how-a-days; and do it so, as though in that one point lay all the virtue and use of the keys;^y—but to the end they should go—they should teach—they should

name of *Evangelical Preparation*, furnishes us with much valuable information accessible by no other means.

Yet with all these claims upon our gratitude, his character as a Theologian is not immaculate. He was charged with leaning towards the Arian heresy, and certainly gave ground for at least suspicion.

EUSEBIUS was born in Palestine, about the year 265. He was consecrated bishop of Cæsarea in 313. In the year 325 he assisted at the council of Nice, and subsequently took a prominent part in the disputes excited by the Arian heresy, inclining always to the side of its leader. He enjoyed the peculiar favour of the emperor Constantine, whose panegyric he pronounced in public during the rejoicings in the thirtieth year of his reign. He died in 338.

JEWELL furnishes the explanation of EUSEBIUS' saying that 'the keys' given to the priesthood are 'the word of God,' where he writes: "That duly receiving the sacrament ordained by CHRIST, we receive also the remission of sins, is not any way denied. For the substance of all sacraments is the word of God, which St. Paul calls 'the word of reconciliation' (2 Cor. v. 19.) This word is the instrument of the remission of sin. The sacraments are the seals affixed to the same: the priest is the mean. AUGUSTINE saith 'In aqua verbum mundat. Detrahe verbum, quid est aqua, nisi aqua? 'In the water' is the word of God, that maketh clean. Take the word away, and what is water else, but water?" Defence, p. 143.]

^x [In the Romish Church, the great privilege of a priest—the chief business which it is his office to perform, is supposed to be the celebration of the Mass; i. e. the communion after their form—so called from the words "Missa est" (you are dismissed,) with which it was anciently customary to dismiss the catechumens and others not admitted to the communion, before its celebration. Hence the name used in the text, *Massing priests*—those who say Mass.]

^y ["The difference that is between us and our adversaries in this whole matter" says JEWELL, speaking of confession "is not great. Three kinds of confession are expressed unto us in the Scriptures. The first, made secretly to God alone: the second, openly before the whole congregation: the third, privately unto our brother. Of the two former kinds, there is no question. Touching the third; if it be discreetly used to the greater comfort and better satisfaction of the penitent, without superstition or other ill, it is not in any wise reprov'd. The abuses and errors set apart, we do no more dislike a private confession than a private sermon.

"Thus much only we say: that private confession to be made unto the Minister, is neither commanded by CHRIST, nor necessary to salvation. And therefore CHRYSOSTOM saith, "I will thee not to bewray thyself openly, nor to accuse thyself before others: but I counsel thee to obey the prophet saying 'Open thy way unto the LORD.'" CHRYS. ad Heb. Hom. xxxi." Defence, p. 141.]

publish abroad the gospel, and be unto the believing "a sweet savour of life unto life," and unto the unbelieving and unfaithful "a savour of death unto death;" and that the minds of godly persons being brought low by the remorse of their former life and errors, after they once began to look up unto the light of the gospel, and believe in CHRIST, might be opened with the word of God, even as a door is opened with a key. Contrariwise, that the wicked and wilful, and such as would not believe, nor return into the right way, should be left still as fast locked and shut up, and, as St. Paul saith, "wax worse and worse."^a—This take we to be the meaning of *the keys* :^b and that after this sort men's consciences be either opened or shut.

We say, that the Priest indeed is *a judge* in this case ; but yet hath "no manner of right to challenge any authority, or power," as saith AMBROSE.^d And therefore

^a 2 Cor. ii. 16.

^a 2 Tim. iii. 13.

^b ["We make no confusion of the keys. Our doctrine is plain ; that there be two keys in the Church of God : the one of *instruction*, the other of *correction*. Whereof the one worketh *inwardly*, the other *outwardly* ; the one before God, the other before the congregation. And yet either of these standeth wholly in the word of God. And therefore St. Paul saith : 'All scripture—is profitable, for doctrine, (to teach the truth,) for reproof, (to reprove the falsehood,) for correction, (to correct the wicked,) for instruction in righteousness,' (to nurture and inform the godly.) 2 Tim. iii. 16.

"Of the former of these keys, St. Paul saith : 'Believe in the LORD JESUS, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.' Acts xvi. 31.

"Of the other, he saith : 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds ; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of CHRIST.' 2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

"This doctrine seemeth to be simple and plain, without confusion." JEWELL, *Defence*, p. 153.]

^c ["First I say, that a priest having authority to pronounce the word of God, is thereby *a judge* over sin. For the word that he speaketh 'is the power of God unto salvation,' (Rom. i. 16.) and 'a two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor [*able to judge*, JEWELL renders the Greek *κριτικός*] of the thoughts and intents of the heart.' (Heb. iv. 12.)

"Of the other side, I say, that in open crimes and public penance, the priest is likewise appointed to be *a judge*."—*Defence*, p. 156.]

^d "Verbum DEI dimittit peccata. Sacerdos est iudex. Sacerdos quidem officium suum exhibet : sed nullius potestatis jura exercet." AMBROSIIUS. *De Pœnitentia*, Dist. I. *Verbum Dei*.

our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, to reprove the negligence of the Scribes and Pharisees in teaching, did with these words rebuke them, saying, "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven against men."^a

Seeing then *the key* whereby the way and entry to the kingdom of God is opened unto us, is the word of the gospel, and the expounding of the Law and Scriptures; we say plainly, where the same word is not, there is not the key. And seeing one manner of word is given to us all, and one only key belongeth to all, we say, there is but *one only power of all ministers*, as concerning opening and shutting. And as touching the Bishop of Rome, for all that his flattering parasites sing these words in his ears—"to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,"^c (as though these keys were fit for him alone, and for nobody else) except he go so to work as men's consciences may be made pliant, and be subdued to the word of God, we deny that he doth either open or shut, or hath the keys at all. And although he taught, and instructed the people (as would God he might once truly do, and persuade himself that it were at the least any piece of his duty!) yet we think his key never to be a whit better, or of greater force than other men's. For who hath severed him from the rest? Who hath taught him more cunningly to open, or better to absolve, than his brethren?

Sect. 10. Marriage.—We say that matrimony is holy and honourable in all sorts and dates of persons; as in the Patriarchs, in the Prophets, in the Apostles, in the holy Martyrs, in the Ministers of the Church, and in Bishops: and that it is "an honest and lawful thing," as CHRYSOSTOM saith, "for a man, living in matrimony, to take upon him therewith the dignity of a Bishop."^e

And, as SOZOMEN saith of Spiridion,^h and as NAZIAN-

^a [Here, again, JEWELL evidently quotes from memory, and has mingled two texts; (Matt. xxiii. 13. Luke xi. 52.) without, however, in the least altering the sense or application of either.]

^c Matt. xvi. 19.

^e CHRYSOST. *Hom.* 11. in *Tit.* i. So THEOPHYLACT, *ad Titum* i. 6.

^h SOZOMENI *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. I. c. xi. *Εἶπε το γὰρ υἱὸς ὑποκρίσας*

ZEN saith of his own father,ⁱ we say, that 'a good and diligent bishop doth serve in the 'ministry never the worse for that he is married, but rather the better, and with more ableness to do good.'

Further we say, that the same law which by constraint taketh away this liberty 'from men and compelleth them against their wills to live single, is "the doctrine of devils," as Paul saith;^k and that ever since the time of this law, a wonderful uncleanness of life and manners in God's ministers, and sundry horrible enormities,^l have followed; as the Bishop of Augusta,^m as **FABER**,

γαμητὴν καὶ παιδὰς ἔχων· ἀλλ' ὃ παρὰ τούτο τὰ θεῖα χεῖρων. "He was a husbandman, married and having children: but not the worse on that account in relation to divine matters."

ⁱ **GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS** in *Epitaphio Patris*. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γένεταί· ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ πρὸς τὰ κράτιστα—ὅτι' αὐτῆς ἀγούσα τῆς ἐκσεβείας, οὐκ ἀισχυνομένη παρέχειν αὐτὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον. My mother, being given to my father of God, became, not only his helper, for that had been no great wonder, "but also his leader, both by word and by deed training him unto the best," and albeit in other things it were best for her to be subject unto her husband, for the right of marriage, "yet in religion and godliness she doubted not to become his mistress." [Quoted in the *Defence*, p. 184.]

^k 1 Tim. iv. 1.

^l [Of these enormities, the accounts of the visitation of the monasteries in England by command of Henry VIII. given by **FULLER**, in the seventh book of his *Church History*, and by **BURNET**, in the Appendix to the first volume of his *History of the Reformation*, furnish melancholy, and but too abundant proofs. And that these effects are not confined to that age, is evident from the similar details relative to monastic institutions in Tuscany at the close of the last century, which may be found in the *Life of Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato*. See the *Quarterly Theological Review*, Vol. iv. p. 261. ss.]

^m [**HULDERIC**, or **UDALRIC**, Bishop of Augusta in Germany, consecrated in 925: "for his virtue and holiness counted a saint," says **JEWELL**, *Defence*, p. 191.]

ⁿ [**FABER**, generally quoted by the name of **FABER STAPULENSIS**, in his native language *Jacques le Fevre*, of *Etaples*, could scarcely be quoted, with fairness, as 'a champion of the Pope's hand,' although he never formally renounced the errors of Popery. He was born about the year 1435. He taught the mathematics with much reputation at Paris, until theological disputes with the Faculty of the Sorbonne forced him to leave that city. Subsequently, he returned, and filled the honourable station of preceptor to the third son of the king, Francis I. His opinions becoming daily more suspected, he finally retired for peace and safety to Nerac, where the advocates of reformation were protected by the queen of Navarre. There he died, in 1537, a hundred and one years old. Commentaries on the Psalms, the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, and the Catholic Epistles—an edition of the Psalter in Hebrew,

as Abbas Panormitanus,* [the Abbot of Palermo,] as LATOMUS,^p as the *Tripartite Work*, [*Opus Triparti-*

with four versions in parallel columns—and a French translation of the Bible—are his principal works. The circumstances of his death are too interesting to be omitted; especially as they prove how little Faber had in him of the 'Romish champion,' yet at the same time add weight to his expressed opinions.

"Queen Margaret sent him word that she would dine with him at his cottage at Nerac. She brought with her some learned persons, in whose society she took great delight, and a pleasing and edifying conversation was sustained; but in the midst of the repast the aged professor burst into tears. "O Jacques!" said her majesty, "you ought to be in good spirits to-day, now I am come to dine with you." "Madam, I am a hundred and one years of age; as to immoral acts, I bless God I have been graciously preserved from them; but—but, there is one thing, my queen, one thing that lies on my conscience—which yet, I trust, may be forgiven me!"—"Come, come," she rejoined, "tell me what it is." "Madam, how shall I stand before the bar of God! I, who have preached the holy Gospel of his Son to so many who have followed my doctrine, and have met a thousand torments, and death itself, with constancy—while I, their teacher, fled—fled from persecution—and have lived to this advanced age—though it ought to have been my earnest desire to fear death in no shape—and privately withdrew myself, and basely deserted the post allotted me by my God." When the queen and her friends had comforted the weeping patriarch by assurances of the Divine forgiveness of unfaithfulness, both from reason and example, he added, "Then nothing remains for me now, but to depart hence to God, if it be his pleasure, as soon as I have made my will; nor ought I to delay, for I think God has called me. I appoint you, Madam, my heir; all my books I bequeath to your chaplain, M. Gerrard; my clothes, and whatever else I have, I leave to the poor; the rest I commend to God." "Why, Jacques," said Margaret, smiling, "what shall I get by being your heir?"—"The office, Madam, of distribution to the poor." "Be it so!" replied the amiable princess; "and here I solemnly declare, that this inheritance is more pleasing to me, than if my brother, the King of France, had nominated me to all his possessions." The old man's countenance brightening, he said, "Now, O Queen, I require some rest; may you all be happy together! mean-while, farewell!" He lay down on a couch, and fell into a gentle dose. After a little time one of the party went to wake him, but his spirit had departed."—HUB. THOMÆ LEODII *Annal. L. xi. de reb. gest. Frid. II. Elect. Pal.* pp. 229, 230. Quoted by MIDDLETON, *Lives of the Reformers*, Vol. II. p. 239. s.]

* [By this name it was customary to cite the famous canonist NICOLAS TUDESCHI. He was Archbishop of Palermo, assisted in the Council of Basle, was created Cardinal and Legate *a latere* by the anti-Pope Felix, and died at Palermo in 1445. He left a great number of works, principally on the canon law, comprised in 9 folio volumes. So great was the estimation in which these were held, that they obtained for the author the epithet *Lucerna Juris*, "the lamp of the law."]

^p [JACOBUS LATOMUS was a scholastic theologian of the sixteenth century, celebrated for his controversial writings against Luther, and

ism,] which is annexed to the second Tome of the Councils, and other champions of the Pope's hand—yea, and as the matter itself, and all histories, do confess. For it was rightly said by PIUS THE SECOND,¹ Bishop of Rome, that “he saw many causes why wives should be taken away from priests: but that he saw many more, and more weighty, causes why they ought to be restored to them again.”

Sect. 11. The Scriptures.—We receive and embrace all the canonical Scriptures,² both of the Old and New

his part in the debates occasioned by the Reformation. He died in 1544.]

¹ [Better known by the name of ÆNEAS SYLVIVS, that which he bore before his accession to the Papal dignity. He was a native of the district of Sienna, in Italy, and was elected Pope in 1458. Previously to that time, during the sitting of the Council of Basle, he had written in defence of the authority of that Council, against the Pope. But when invested with his new dignity, he issued a bull forbidding appeals to a future General Council, and another retracting what he had formerly advanced. He was a man of strong mind and great learning, but little principle.]

² [From this general expression, JEWELL's Romish antagonist takes occasion to cavil, asking, “Why do ye not here plainly declare which be the books of Scripture that ye allow, and which they be that ye reject?”—for the Church of Rome considers those books which we call *apocryphal*, a part of *Scripture*. The enumeration of the books allowed by Protestants as *canonical* was not incumbent upon JEWELL, as it had already been made in the VIth Article. That the difference there made is no novelty, but based upon, and supported by, the testimony of the primitive Church, is shown by JEWELL in his *Defence*.

“We embrace and reverence every parcel and tittle of the Scriptures without exception, not refusing any part thereof that hath been allowed by the ancient, learned, catholic fathers of the Church of God.

“We deny no more than by ST. AUGUSTINE, ST. JEROME, and other holy catholic fathers hath been denied.

“ST. CYPRIAN saith: ‘*Alii libri sunt qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici appellantur, &c. Hujus ordinis est libellus Tobie, et Judith, et Machabeorum libri.*’—‘Other books there be that are not called *Canonical*, but only *Ecclesiastical*, for that they be allowed to be read in churches. Of this sort are the books of Tobit, of Judith, and of the Maccabees.’ (in *Expositione Symboli*.)

“ST. JEROME saith: ‘*Machabeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia; sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit.*’—‘The Church indeed readeth the books of Maccabees; but receiveth them not among the canonical Scriptures.’ (in *Proæmio in Prov. Salomon.*)

“AUGUSTINE saith: ‘*In Machabeorum libris etsi aliquid mirabilium numeri inserendum conveniens fuisse ordini inveniatur, de hoc tamen nulla cura fatigabimur: quia tantum agere proposuimus, ut de divini*

Testament; giving thanks to our God, who hath raised up unto us that light,* which we might ever have before our eyes, lest either by the subtlety of man, or by the snares of the devil, we should be carried away to errors and lies. Also we profess that these be the heavenly voices, whereby God hath opened unto us His will; and that only in them can man's heart have settled rest: that in them be abundantly and fully comprehended all things, whatsoever be needful for our health; as ORIGEN, AUGUSTINE, CHRYSOSTOM, and CYRIL, have taught: that they be the very might and strength of God to attain unto salvation:† that they be the "foundation of the apostles and prophets,"‡ whereupon is built the Church of God: that they be the very sure and infallible rule, whereby may be tried whether the Church do swerve or err, and whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account: and that against these Scriptures neither law, nor ordinance, nor any custom, ought to be heard—no, "though Paul himself, or an angel from heaven," should come and teach the contrary.¶

Sect. 12. The Sacraments.—Moreover, we allow the Sacraments of the Church, that is to say, certain

Canonis mirabilibus exiguum expositionem tangeremus.—'Although there may be something found in the books of the Maccabees meet for this order of writing, [the extract is from a *Treatise on Miracles*] and worthy to be joined with the number of miracles; yet hereof we will have no care, for that we intended only to touch a short rehearsal of the miracles contained in the books of the holy Canon.' (*De Mirabilibus Sacre Scripturae*, Lib. II. cap. 34.) Here AUGUSTINE telleth you, that the books of the Maccabees are *no part of the Canonical Scriptures*, and that therefore he will make none account of the miracles therein contained.

"Again, these be ST. AUGUSTINE'S words: 'Hæc supputatio non in Scripturis Sanctis, quæ appellantur Canonicae, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Machabæorum libri.'—'This reckoning is not found in the Holy Scriptures, that are called Canonical, but in *certain other books*, among which are the books of Maccabees.' (*De Civitat. DEI*. Lib. xviii. cap. 36.)—*Defence*, p. 197.]

▪ ["The prophet David saith: 'Thy word is a *lamp* unto my feet, and a *light* unto my path.' (Ps. cxix. 105.) And again, 'The commandment of the LORD is pure, [JEWELL has it, from the old translation, '*lightsome*,'] *enlightening* the eyes.' (Ps. xix. 8.) And THEOPHYLACT saith: 'The word of God is the candle, whereby the thief (or false teacher) is espied.'—*Defence*, p. 196.]

† Rom. i. 16.

‡ Eph. ii. 20.

¶ Gal. i. 8.

holy signs and ceremonies, which CHRIST would we should use, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation,* and might more strongly confirm the faith which we have in his blood; and might seal his grace in our hearts. And these sacraments, together with TERTULLIAN, ORIGEN, AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE, JEROME, CHRYSOSTOM, BASIL, DIONYSIUS, and other catholic fathers, we do call *figures—signs—marks—badges—prints—copies—forms—seals—signets—similitudes—patterns—representations—remembrances—and memories.*† And we make no doubt, together with the same doctors, to say, that these be certain *visible words*‡

* [“Although the death of CHRIST be already passed, yet is it laid lively and freshly before our eyes in the ministration of the sacraments. St. AMBROSE saith ‘In baptismo crucifigimus in nobis FILIUM DEI.’ ‘In baptism we crucify in ourselves the SON OF GOD.’ (*De Pœnitent. Lib. ii. cap. 2.*) CHRYSOSTOM saith: ‘The death of CHRIST is wrought in the mysteries.’ (*in Act. Hom. xxi.*) Thus the grace of God is given unto us in the sacraments because it is represented and laid before us in the sacraments.—We use them humbly, as the instruments of the grace of God.” *Defence*, p. 209.]

† [Article xxv. “Sacraments—be—badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession—sure witnesses, and effectual signs, of grace, and God’s good will.”—Article xxvii. “Baptism is—a sign of regeneration, or new birth whereby the promises are visibly signed and sealed.” In Article xxix, the wicked who partake of the LORD’S Supper are said “to eat and drink the sign or sacrament” of the body and blood of CHRIST.

“CHRIST hath instituted—holy mysteries—for a continual remembrance of his death.” “We do celebrate and make here—the memoria thy Son hath commanded us.” *Communion office*.——“Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, &c.” *Baptism of Infants*.]

‡ [This terse phrase expresses admirably the design of sacramental institutions. In the more diffuse language of Dr. KNOX: “Heavenly things are so far above all human languages, that it is necessary to attempt a supply of the defect by allusive imagery, by hieroglyphical figures, by ritual performances; by the elements of bread, of wine, and of water, in the sacraments.

“These signs are the language of our religion, who does not express herself by sounds only, differing in their meaning in different nations of the earth; but by elements which, rightly used, are significant to all men, and form an universal language.

“Symbols, emblems, tropes, allegories, fables, expressive actions; all these are used, and must of necessity be used, to supply the defect of language. Their use in the sacraments is in every respect highly proper. They have spoken with effect to millions of the human race, who received solace from them in the pilgrimage of life, and who, in consequence of them, laid themselves down at its close to sleep in peace.” KNOX’S *Considerations on the Nature and Efficacy of the Lord’s Supper*, p. 113, 114. ed. 1800.]

—*seals of righteousness,*^a and *tokens of grace.*^b

And we do expressly pronounce, that in the LORD'S Supper there is truly given unto the believing, the *body and blood of our LORD—the flesh of the SON OF GOD, which quickeneth our souls*^b—*the meat* [food] *that cometh from above—the food of immortality, of grace, truth, and life:* and that the same Supper is the *communion of the body and the blood of CHRIST;* by the partaking whereof we be revived, strengthened, and fed unto immortality; and whereby we are joined, united and incorporate unto CHRIST, that “we may abide in him, and he in us.”^c

“The signification and substance of the sacrament [of the LORD'S Supper] is to show us how we are fed with the body of CHRIST: that is, that like as material bread feedeth our body, so the body of CHRIST nailed on the cross, embraced and eaten by faith, feedeth the soul. The like representation is also made in the sacrament of Baptism; that as our body is washed clean with water, so our soul is washed clean with CHRIST'S blood. Therefore S. AUGUSTINE saith: ‘*Nisi sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, habent, omnino sacramenta non essent.*’ ‘If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed were they no sacraments.’ (*Epist. 23.*) *Defence*, p. 20.]

^a [JEWELL appears to use the word ‘righteousness’ here, in the signification which it has in many parts of St. Paul's Epistles—that of justification—being accounted holy, pardoned, acceptable, in the sight of God, through CHRIST.]

^b [‘Tokens of grace,’ i. e. of the divine favour (*gratia*, χάρις.)]

^c “The bread of the sacrament is one thing, and the flesh of CHRIST is another. The bread entereth only into the bodily mouth: CHRIST'S flesh entereth only into the soul. Without eating of the bread of the sacrament we may be saved: without eating of CHRIST'S flesh we can never be saved. St. AUGUSTINE saith precisely: ‘*Qui non sumit carnem CHRISTI, non habet vitam: et qui eam sumit, habet vitam, et eam utique æternam.*’ ‘He that receiveth not the flesh of CHRIST, hath not life: and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that forever.’ (*in Johan. Tractat. 26.*) Again he saith ‘The sacrament is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction. But the thing itself (that is, the flesh of CHRIST) whereof the sacrament is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction whosoever shall be partaker of it.’ (*in eodem Tractatu.*)

“Likewise ORIGEN saith: ‘The body of CHRIST is the true food, which no evil man can eat. For if the evil man could eat the body of our LORD, it should not be written, *He that eateth this bread shall live for ever.*’ (*in Matth. c. 15.*)’ *Defence*, p. 209, 213. See the manner in which this doctrine is stated in Articles xxviii. and xxix.]

^e JOHN xv. 4. [In the thanksgiving after the Communion, this union with CHRIST is thus explained:—“and doest assure us thereby” (by the due reception of the ‘holy mysteries’) “that we are very members

des this, we acknowledge there be two sacraments which, we judge, properly ought to be called by me: that is to say, *Baptism*, and the *Sacrament ksgiving*^d [*Eucharist*.] For thus many we see delivered and sanctified by CHRIST, and well all of the old fathers, AMBROSE, and AUGUSTIN, and others.

ate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed common faithful people." See also the '*Invocation*.'

WELL's use of this title for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, retention of the Latin word '*Eucharistia*' in the beginning of seem to show that the word *Eucharist* had not then been into our language. Its meaning is literally *The Thanksgiving* such being the signification of the Greek word *Εὐχαριστία*, merely represents in English letters.]

He will grant without force, and freely, that the holy catholic have made mention, not only of *seven*, but also of *seventeen* sacraments. TERTULLIAN (*adversus Judæos*, c. 13) calleth *3*, wherewith Elisha recovered the axe out of the water '*sacrament ligni*' the '*sacrament of wood*:' and the whole state of the *1* faith he calleth (*contra Marcionem*. Lib. IV.) '*the sacrament christian religion*.' S. AUGUSTINE in many places hath '*sacrament crucis*' '*the sacrament of the cross*.' (*Epist.* 12.) Thus he in this figure or form of the cross, there is contained a sacrament (*Sermone de Sanctis* 19.) So saith LEO, de *Resurr. Domini*, St. JEROME saith: 'Out of CHRIST's side the sacraments of and martyrdom are poured forth both together.' (*ad Oceanum* calleth the *promise of virginity*, a sacrament; *inter De-* 14. The bread that was given unto the novices, or beginners saith, called *Catechumens*, before they were baptized, of S. IRENE is called a sacrament (*de Peccat. merit. et remiss.* Lib. II.) IRENE in sundry places, saith: 'The sacrament of prayer—of —of the Scriptures—of weeping—of thirst. (*in Matth. Canon.* 23.) St. BERNARD calleth the *washing of the Apostles' feet* sacrament (*in Serm. de Cæna Dominica*.)

There are many, and many more sacraments it had been easy for M. to have found in the catholic learned fathers. Yet, I trow, not say, that either the '*helve of an axe*,' or the whole '*religion*,' or a '*cross*' printed in the forehead, or '*martyrdom*,' or '*pictures*,' or a '*vow of virginity*,' on the '*bread given to the monks*,' or '*prayer*,' or '*fasting*,' or '*weeping*,' or '*thirst*,' or '*washing of feet*,' are the necessary '*seven sacraments*' of the Church! we will not greatly strive for the name. It appeareth hereby things that in deed, and by special property, be no sacraments nevertheless pass under the general name of a sacrament. we say, *It cannot be proved, neither by the Scriptures, nor ancient learned fathers, that this number of sacraments is so appointed and consecrate to this purpose, or that there be more nor less sacraments in the Church, but only seven.* the reasons that they of M. HARDING's side have brought for proof, they are too childish to be remembered. For thus they

Sect. 13. *Baptism.*—We say, that *Baptism* is a sacrament of the remission of sins,[†] and of that washing which we have in the blood of CHRIST; and that no person, which will profess CHRIST's name, ought to be restrained or kept back therefrom—no, not the very babes of Christians, forso much as they be born in sin, and do pertain unto the people of God.

Sect. 14. *The Eucharist.*—We say, that *Eucharistia*, that is to say, the *Supper of the Lord*, is a sacrament—that is, an evident representation—of the body and blood of CHRIST, wherein is set, as it were, before our eyes, the death of CHRIST, and his resurrection, and whatsoever he did whilst he was in his mortal body; to the end we may give him thanks for his death, and for our deliverance; and that by the often receiving of this sacrament, we may daily renew the remembrance thereof, to the intent we, being fed with the body and blood of CHRIST, may be brought into the hope of the resur-

say: 'The book in the Apocalypse hath *seven seals*:—the *seven angels* there have *seven trumpets*:—CHRIST hath in his right hand *seven stars*:—CHRIST walketh in the midst of *seven golden candlesticks*:—Zachariah saw *seven eyes* upon a stone:—there were *seven candlesticks* in the tabernacle:—*ergo*' say they, 'there must needs be just *seven sacraments* in the Church of God.'

"But to leave these vanities, and to come to the purpose: unto every necessary sacrament of the Church, two things specially are required: that is, a *sensible outward element*, and the *word of institution*. Without either of these there is no sacrament. Therefore S. AUGUSTINE saith: "*Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum.*" "Join the word of CHRIST's institution unto the sensible creature, or outward element, and thereof is made a sacrament." (*in Johan. Tr.* 80.) The *element*, or *creature* in Baptism, is water: the elements or creatures in our Lord's Supper, are bread and wine: the words of institution are common and known. The other five sacraments, [so called,] want either the word, or the element, or both together. As for example, *Matrimony*, *Orders*, and *Penance*, have the word of God, but they have no outward creature, or element: *Extreme Unction*, and *Confirmation*, have neither word nor element. Therefore these five latter, in proper use of speech, are not taken for necessary sacraments of the Church." *Defence*, p. 214, 215.]

[†] ["We confess, and have evermore taught, that in the sacrament of Baptism, by the death and blood of CHRIST is given remission of all manner sins: and that not in half, nor in part, nor by way of imagination, nor by fancy; but full, whole, and perfect of all together: so that now, as St. Paul saith, 'There is no condemnation to them which are in CHRIST JESUS.'"]—*Defence*, p. 219.]

rection, and of everlasting life, and may most assuredly believe that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine, so our souls be fed with the body and blood of CHRIST.^s

To this banquet we think the people of God ought to be earnestly bidden, [invited] that they may all communicate among themselves, and openly declare and testify, both the godly society which is among them, and also the hope which they have in CHRIST JESUS. For this cause, if there had been any which would be but a looker on, and abstain from the holy Communion, him did the old fathers, and bishops of Rome, in the primitive Church, before private masses^h came up, excommunicate, as a wicked person and as a pagan.ⁱ

^s ["These two kinds of eating must evermore necessarily be joined together. And whosoever cometh to the holy table, and advanceth not his mind unto heaven, there to feed upon CHRIST's body at the right hand of God, he knoweth not the meaning of these mysteries, but is void of understanding, as the horse or mule, and receiveth only the bare sacraments to his condemnation."—*Defence*, p. 223.]

^h [*Private or solitary masses* are celebrations of the Communion in which none but the officiating priest communicate. They were introduced into the Church of Rome in the twelfth century. JEWELL gives the following description of them, in his *Defence*:—"What manner of feast is it that Mr. HARDING prepareth for the people? How is it seasoned? How is it dressed? First, by very uncourteous and uncivil dealing, he withdraweth the one half, that is, the cup of the New Testament, and reserveth it severally to himself: and yet would make the people believe they have the whole. And thus doth he, when he hath greatest company to sup with him, and when his feast is best furnished. Otherwise [in *private masses*] he suffereth his guests to stand aloof, and he consumeth all his provision himself alone. Neither, indeed, hath he any thing to set before them, saving only a cold surcharge of dead shows, and dumb ceremony. The poor people heareth nothing; understandeth nothing; eateth nothing; drinketh nothing; tasteth nothing. They publish not the LORD's death: (1 Cor. xi. 26.) they know not the LORD's Supper."—*Defence*, p. 226.]

ⁱ ["'Good men,' saith M. HARDING, 'withdraw themselves, and are contented to be present only, and to stand by, but receive not the Sacrament.' But CHRYSOSTOM saith to such a good, devout man, 'If thou stand by, and do not communicate, thou art wicked, thou art shameless, thou art impudent. Thou wilt say, *I am unworthy* to be partaker of the holy mysteries. Then art thou *unworthy* to be partaker of the prayers. Thou mayest no more stand here than one of the Novices, (called Catechumeni,) that never was christened.' (CHRYSOST. *ad Ephes.* Hom. 3.)

"ANACLETUS saith: 'Let them *all* communicate, unless they will be thrust out of the church.' (*De Consecrat. Distinct.* 1. *Episcopus.*) The apostles in their canons say thus: 'Whoso entereth into the church, and heareth the Scriptures, and receiveth not the Communion,

Neither was there any Christian at that time, who did communicate alone, while others looked on. For so did CALIXTUS in times past decree, that "after the consecration was finished, all should communicate, except they had rather stand without the church doors. For thus," saith he, "did the Apostles appoint, and the same holy Church of Rome keepeth still."^k

Moreover, when the people cometh to the holy Communion, the sacrament ought to be given them in *both kinds*: for so both CHRIST hath commanded,¹ and the apostles in every place have ordained; and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops have followed the same. And whoso doth contrary to this, "he," as GELASIUS saith,^m "committeth sacrilege." And therefore we say that our adversaries at this day, who, having violently thrust out, and quite forbidden the holy Communion, do, without the word of God, without the autho-

let him be excommunicate, as a disturber of the church, and a breaker of public order.' (Canon 10.)"—*Defence*, p. 226.]

^k "Peracta consecratione, omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis cavere liminibus. Sic enim et Apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia." *De Consecrat. Dist. 2. Peracta*. [This is one of the chapters in the Canon Law, attributed in the older editions, as cited by JEWELL, to Pope CALIXTUS. But it is in reality the same with another chapter attributed to ANACLETUS, (as cited above, Note ^b) and JEWELL acknowledged the mistake into which he had been led by this error of GRATIAN, (the compiler of the Canon Law,) when pointed out by HARDING.]

CALIXTUS I. was chosen Bishop of Rome in 218, and died in 223. The decrees in his name in the Canon Law, are, notoriously, forged.

The quotation was doubtless used by JEWELL as an *argumentum ad hominem*, since the pretended authority of CALIXTUS, (or ANACLETUS, a still earlier Bishop of Rome,) though of no weight with Protestants, would be irrefragable with such as acknowledged papal supremacy and infallibility.]

¹ ["Certainly these words of CHRIST, 'Drink ye all of this;' 'Do this in remembrance of me;' are very plain words of commandment and institution. Therefore CHRYSOSTOM saith, 'CHRIST both in the bread, and also in the cup, said, Do this in remembrance of me.' (*in Prim. Cor. Hom. 27.*) Likewise THEOPHYLACT: 'The reverend cup is in equal manner delivered unto all.' (*in Prim. Cor. 11.*)"—*Defence*, p. 229.]

^m "Aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur: quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire." *De Consecrat. Distinct. 2. Comperimus*.

[GELASIUS I. was chosen Bishop of Rome in 492, and died in 496.]

The remark made in Note ^k, applies equally to the use of GELASIUS' authority as to that of CALIXTUS. They were better to *confute* an adversary, than to *establish* truth.]

rity of any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive Church—yea, and without reason also,^a defend and maintain their *Private Masses*, and the mangling of the sacraments—and do this not only against the plain express commandment of **CHRIST**, but also against all antiquity—do wickedly therein, and are very church-robbers.

We affirm, that the bread and wine are the holy and heavenly mysteries of the *body and blood of CHRIST*, and that by them **CHRIST** himself, being the true “bread of eternal life,”^o is so presently given unto us, as that by faith we verily receive his body and blood. Yet say we not this so, as though we thought that the nature and substance of the *bread and wine* is clearly changed, and goeth to nothing;^p as many have dreamed in these

^a [Without reason, indeed, they were; yet not without *pretences* of reason; for instance, the fear of spilling the wine—the danger of a drop's sticking to men's beards—the possibility of its freezing, or turning sour. The futility of these pretences (all grounded on the superstitious reverence for the elements created by belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation) proves the utter indefensibility of the practice.]

^o John vi. 47, 48.

^p [This is the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, maintained by the Church of Rome: so called from its purport—the *change of substance* in the elements of the Eucharist.

According to the old philosophy, there were believed to be “in every natural thing,” (to use **JEWELL**'s own words) “two things to be considered: the *substance*, and the *accidents*. For example: in *bread*, the *material thing* that feedeth us, and is changed into the blood, and nourishment of our bodies,” (in modern phrase, *the nutritive matter*,) “is called the *substance* of the bread: the *whiteness, roundness, thickness, sweetness*, and other the like that are perceived outwardly by our senses,” (the *qualities*, form, colour, taste, tangibility, &c.) “are called *accidents*.”—*Defence*, p. 232.

Now the Romish Church maintains that the *accidents* of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper (the form, colour, &c.) remain unchanged: but that the *substance* is annihilated, and the real body (the flesh and blood) of **CHRIST** given in its stead. How absurd, and contrary to every principle of true philosophy and right reason, this distinction is, it is unnecessary to point out. Such as it is, however, it is the doctrine of *transubstantiation*.

This doctrine was gradually introduced among the other corruptions of the Church, in the interval between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. It took its rise, most probably, in the hyperbolical language often employed, in speaking of the Eucharist, by the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Its progress was accelerated by the support which it afforded to the growing pretensions of the clergy. The wretched philosophy of the schoolmen furnished the weapons for its defence.

latter times—and yet could never agree among themselves upon their own dreams.¹ For that was not CHRIST's meaning, that the *wheaten bread* should lay apart its own nature, and receive a certain new divinity—but that he might rather *change us*, and, to use THEOPHYLACT's words, "might transform us" into his body. For what can be said more plainly than that which AMBROSE saith: "Bread and wine remain still the same they were before; and yet are changed into another

The Council of the Lateran, held in the year 1215, by Pope Innocent III. first gave it explicit sanction, as it is now maintained; and first employed the word *transubstantiation*, as its name.]

¹ [Some Romanists have held, that in the reception of the Eucharist, CHRIST's body passeth down into the stomach: others, that it merely entereth the mouth, and goeth no further: others, that as soon as the consecrated bread is touched with the mouth, immediately CHRIST's body is caught up into heaven.]

The supposition that a piece of consecrated bread (or, as they call it, from the form in which they use it, *wafer*) should be *eaten by a mouse*, has exceedingly perplexed them. Some have maintained (to repeat the assertion is almost blasphemy,) that in that case, 'the mouse would eat the body of CHRIST: others, alarmed at this consequence of their doctrine, have chosen to believe that a special miracle would take place, and that what *was* the body of CHRIST, would be so no more, as soon as the mouse should touch it. PETER LOMBARD, the great master of the schoolmen, after starting the question, leaves it, in his perplexity, with this only remark, "DEUS novit;" "God knows."—The references are in JEWELL's *Defence*, p. 236, 256.]

² Ἀνακρινόμενος ὡς περ καὶ μετασχημαζόμενος εἰς αὐτόν.—In Joannis Cap. vi. [THEOPHYLACT, sometimes called the last of the Greek fathers, was Archbishop of Acris, the metropolis of Bulgaria, in the eleventh century. He studied at Constantinople, and became eminent for his acquaintance with the Scriptures and the early Greek fathers. His Commentaries on the Gospels, Acts, Epistles of Paul, and some of the minor Prophets, are still extant, and highly esteemed and often quoted; although much of their value is derived from their close adherence to the more diffuse explications of CHRYSOSTOM.]

HARDING affirmed that THEOPHYLACT had elsewhere made assertions, relative to the Eucharist, inconsistent with that here quoted. JEWELL remarks in reply: "Of THEOPHYLACT's authority, we never made any great account. He is but a very late writer, in comparison of the ancient fathers. For the most part of that he writeth, he is but an abridger of CHRYSOSTOM. He writeth against the Church of Rome, stoutly maintaining a known heresy, concerning the 'Procession of the HOLY GHOST.' Notwithstanding, in this place we allege his words to good purpose."—*Defence*, p. 238.]

³ "Panis et vinum sunt quæ erant, et in aliud commutantur." *De Sacramento*. Lib. iv. c. 4. "They are changed into another thing: that is to say, they are made the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which before they were not."—*Defence*, p. 243.

thing?" or that which GELASIUS saith: "The substance of the bread, or the nature of the wine, ceaseth not to be?" or that which THEODORET saith: "After the consecration, the mystical signs do not cast off their own proper nature; for they remain still in their former substance, form, and kind?" or that which AUGUSTINE saith: "That which ye see, is the bread and cup, and so our eyes do tell us; but that which your faith requireth to be taught, is this: the bread is the body of CHRIST, and the cup is his blood?" or that which ORIGEN saith: "The bread which is sanctified by the word of

† "Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini." *Contr. Eutychetm.*

‡ Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυσικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσει. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ὕλης, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους. *Dialog. II. Inconfusus.* [Opp. THEODORET. ed. J. L. SCHULZE. Tom. IV. p. 126. A similar passage occurs in *Dialog. I. p. 26.*

THEODORET is one of the most learned and judicious of the Greek fathers. He was chosen bishop of Cyricus, in Syria, about A. D. 420. THEODORE of Mopsuestia, celebrated for his skill in the criticism and interpretation of Scripture, and CHRYSOSTOM, were his instructors in theology. The advantage which he derived from their instructions appears plainly in his writings. These consist of an Ecclesiastical History, Commentaries and Questions on the greater part of the Bible, and treatises in confutation of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies—opposite errors relative to the nature of the SAVIOUR, which then divided the whole Church.

THEODORET was present at the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, and is thought to have died about 457.]

‡ In *Sermone ad Infantes*. [as quoted in the Canon Law] *De Consecratione*. Distinct. II. *Qui Manducant*. "Quod videtur, panis est, et calix, quod etiam oculi renuntiant. Quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus CHRISTI; calix, sanguis."—"AUGUSTINE fully expoundeth his own meaning, in what sense the bread may be called the body of CHRIST. These be his words: 'CHRISTUS levavit,' &c. 'CHRIST hath lifted up his body into heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. There is he now, sitting at the right hand of the Father. How then is the bread his body? And the cup, or what is in the cup, how is it his blood?' These, my brethren, be called sacraments, for that in them one thing is seen, and another thing is understood."—*Defence*, p. 254.

‡ *Comm. in Matth. c. 15.* [The translation in the text is made literally from the quotation, as it was made in JEWELL's original Latin. HARDING having complained of that quotation as unfaithful, it is thus given in the *Defence*, p. 255. "Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, et per obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale in ventrem abit, &c." "The meat [food] that is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, according to that material part that is in it, passeth, &c." The sense of the passage—a sense wholly at variance with the Romish doctrine—is not altered by the difference in quotation.]

GOD, as touching the material substance thereof, 'goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?' or that which CHRIST himself said, not only after the blessing of the cup, but also after he had ministered the Communion: "I will drink no more of this *fruit of the vine*?"—It is well known that 'the fruit of the vine' is *wine*, and not *blood*.

And in speaking thus we mean not to abase the LORD'S Supper, or to teach that it is a cold *ceremony* only, and nothing to be wrought therein; as many falsely slander us, that we teach. For we affirm, that CHRIST doth truly and presently give himself wholly in his Sacraments: in *baptism*, that we may "put him on;" and in his *Supper*, that we may eat him^a by faith and spirit, and may have everlasting life^a by his cross and blood. And we say not this is done slightly or coldly, but effectually and truly. For although we do not touch the body of CHRIST with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him, by faith, by understanding, and by spirit.^b And it is no vain faith, that comprehendeth CHRIST; neither is it received with cold devotion, that is received with understanding, faith, and spirit. For CHRIST himself altogether is so offered and given us in these mysteries, that we may certainly know we be

^a Matt. xxvi. 29.

^a Gal. iii. 27.

^b John vi. 53.

^b John vi. 51.

^b ["We have no special regard to the bread, wine, or water; for they are creatures corruptible, as well after consecration, as they were before: but we direct our faith only unto the very body and blood of CHRIST; not as being there really and fleshly present, but as sitting in heaven, at the right of God the Father. The holy father CHRYSOSTOM saith, though in general words, not speaking especially of this sacrament: 'The eyes of our faith, when they behold these unspeakable good things, they do not so much as mark those outward things that we see with our bodily eyes.' (*In Genes. Hom. xxiv.*)

"TERTULLIAN saith: 'CHRISTUS—in causa vitæ recipiendus: devorandus auditu: ruminandus intellectu; et fide digerendus est.' 'CHRIST—must be received in cause of life: he must be eaten by hearing: must be chewed by understanding: and must be digested by faith.' (*De Resurrectione.*)

"ST. CYPRIAN saith: 'Quod est esca carni, hoc est animæ fides.' 'What meat is to the flesh, that is faith unto the soul.' (*De Cæna Dom.*) ST. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Credere in eum, hoc est manducare: illud, bibere, quid est, nisi vivere?' 'To believe in him, is to eat him: the drinking, what is it else, but to live by him?' (*in Johan. Tract. 26.*)" *Defence*, p. 262. 266.]

‘flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone;’ and that “CHRIST continueth in us, and we in him.”

And therefore, in celebrating these mysteries, the people are to good purpose exhorted, before they come to receive the Holy Communion, to “lift up their hearts,”^a and to direct their minds to heaven-ward; because he is there, by whom we must be fed, and live. And CYRIL saith,^c when we come to receive these holy mysteries, all “gross imaginations” must quite be banished. The Council of Nice, as it is alleged by some in

^a John vi. 56.

^d [The allusion is to the passage of the Communion Service immediately following the sentences:

“*Priest.* Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the LORD.”

These versicles were in general use in the second century—received in all likelihood, from the Apostles themselves: for CYPRIAN thus mentions them—“*Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo, sursum corda: ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad DOMINUM, admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam DOMINUM cogitare debere.*” “The Priest before prayer prepares the hearts of the brethren by a preface, saying, *Lift up your hearts*: that when the people answer *We lift them up unto the LORD*, they may be put in mind that they ought to think of nothing else beside the LORD.” (*In Oratione Dominica.*)

That these responsive addresses were used in the *Communion Service*, appears from the testimony of CHRYSOSTOM (*Hom. 9. in Matt.*)—“We cry aloud, in sight of the oblation, *Lift up your hearts* ;” and of AUGUSTINE, “*Inter sacra mysteria cor habere sursum jubemur.*” “In the celebration of the holy mysteries we are commanded to *Lift up our hearts.*” (*De Bono Persereri. Lib. II. c. 13.*) *Defence*, p. 267. s.]

^e *Anathematismo* 11. [The whole passage is given in the *Defence*, p. 270.—“*Num hominis comestione, &c.*” “Dost thou say that our sacrament is the *eating of a man*? And dost thou unreverently, and without religion force the mind of the faithful unto *gross cogitations*? And goest thou about with natural imaginations to deal those things that be received by *only, pure and perfect faith*?”

CYRIL of Alexandria, bishop of that see during thirty-two years, died in 444. He distinguished himself by turbulence and noisy zeal, in the disputes relative to the person and nature of CHRIST which agitated the Church in his day. He presided in the council of Ephesus celebrated for its disgraceful violence against the partizans of the heretic Nestorius.

The works of CYRIL comprise commentaries on a considerable proportion of the Old and New Testaments; defences of Christianity against the apostate JULIAN, against the Jews, and against the Heathens generally; and a great number of controversial treatises, principally relative to the doctrines of the Trinity, and the cognate questions concerning the connexion of the divine and human natures in the Saviour. They display more talent than sound knowledge, and greater attachment to forms of belief than to spiritual religion.]

Greek, plainly forbiddeth us to be basely affectioned or bent toward the bread and wine which are set before us. And as CHRYSOSTOM very aptly writeth,^f we say that "the body of CHRIST is the dead carcase, and we ourselves must be the eagles," meaning thereby that we must fly on high, if we will come to the body of CHRIST; for "this table," as CHRYSOSTOM saith, "is a table of eagles, and not of jays." CYPRIAN also: "This bread," saith he "is the food of the soul, and not the meat of the belly."^g And S. AUGUSTINE saith: "How shall I hold him, being absent? How shall I reach my hand up to heaven, to lay hold upon him, sitting there?" He answereth, "Reach thither thy faith, and then thou hast laid hold on him."^h

Neither can we away in our churches with these shows,ⁱ and sales, and markets of masses;^k nor with

^f In 1 Cor. c. x. Hom. 24.

[CHRYSOSTOM doubtless alludes, in this passage, to our Saviour's saying, Matth. xxiv. 28; although he may possibly have designed to convey the further allusion pointed out by JEWELL. AUGUSTINE, (*Quæst. Evangel. Lib. I. c. 42.*) says: 'Ubi fuerit,' &c. 'Wherever the body may be, there the eagles will be gathered together; that is, in heaven; there the eagles will be gathered together. This is spoken of the spiritual-minded, who by imitating the passion and humiliation of CHRIST, become as it were, satisfied by a participation of his body.'

So also LEO: 'Circa hoc, &c.' "About this body gather eagles, which fly with with spiritual wings (the wings of faith.*)" Quoted in the Canon Law, *De Consecr. Dist. 2. In quibus.*

These are bold figures and displeasing to the more refined taste of our days. But they were abundantly authorized by the custom of the age in which they were used, and must be taken with allowance for such custom.]

^g *De Cæna Domini.*

^h *In Johannem. Tractat. 50.*

ⁱ [The exhibition of the consecrated wafer for the adoration of the people, accompanied by the sound of a bell to give them warning to prostrate themselves in adoration. This is termed the *Elevation of the Host*, from the attitude of the Priest, who, standing with the *pyx* (the silver vessel in which the wafer is deposited) in both hands joined, raises them above his head, and presents it to the view of the congregation.]

^k [The belief of the real presence of CHRIST's body in the Communion soon generated the opinion that the celebration of the rite was an actual repetition of the *sacrifice* of CHRIST. Hence readily arose the belief that it must be equally available for spiritual benefit with the one great sacrifice upon the cross. The priests were not long in persuading the ignorant multitude that the application of these benefits was in their power; and joining this error with the doctrine of *purgato-*

the carrying about and worshipping of the bread;¹ nor with such other idolatrous and blasphemous fondness; which none of them can prove that CHRIST or his Apostles ever ordained, or left unto us. And we justly blame the bishops of Rome, who, without the word of God, without the authority of the holy fathers, without any example of antiquity, after a new guise, do not only set before the people the sacramental bread to be worshipped as God, but do also carry the same about upon an ambling palfrey whithersoever themselves journey,^m in such sort as in old time the *Persians' fire*,ⁿ and the relics of the goddess *Isis*,^o were solemnly carried about

ry, set up a pretence to the power of aiding souls in the torment of that place of temporary punishment, by the celebration of masses in their behalf. For these masses they asked a price, either in advance, from the person to be benefitted by them, before his death; or from the relatives and friends of the deceased. It became a regular trade. Whole ecclesiastical endowments were supported by it. It was customary to leave by will a certain sum to pay for masses to be said for the good of the departed soul. Even at the present day, in countries where the Romish faith prevails, masses are as regularly bought and sold as any temporal goods; nay, associations are formed, on the principle of mutual insurance, in which the members bind themselves to procure a certain number of masses to be said after death for such as subscribe a certain sum.

Masses are also bought and sold as votive or propitiatory offerings. A person in some great danger vows a certain number of masses, if he escape. Should that be the case, they are bargained for with some neighbouring priest, and procured at the cheapest possible rate. Or if a man have been robbed, he pays a priest to say one or more masses for the detection of the thief, or recovery of his stolen property. Such are the 'sales' and 'markets' which our reformers 'could not away with.'

¹ [When the Communion is administered to the sick, in Papist countries, it is borne in the *pyx*, under a canopy, in solemn procession, while all who may be present where it passes, kneel in adoration.]

A yearly festival called *Corpus Christi*, or the *Body of CHRIST*, is celebrated in the Church of Rome on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, in attestation of the corporal presence of CHRIST in the Eucharist. It was founded, on occasion of a pretended miracle, by Pope Urban IV. who died in 1264. On this day the consecrated wafer is borne about in procession from church to church, with great display.]

^m *Ceremon. Eccles. Rom.* Sect. xii. cap. 5.

ⁿ ["The kings of Persia used in old times to carry before them upon a horse the fire which they called the *Orimasda*, and imagined the same to be their God." *Defence*, p. 281.]

^o [JEWELL, in his *Defence*, p. 281, quotes NICOLAUS LEONICENUS, a Romanist, as allowing the resemblance between the ceremonies relative to the host in the Romish Church, and those of the Egyptian god-

in procession: and have brought the sacraments of CHRIST to be used now as a stage-play, and a solemn sight; to the end that men's eyes should be fed with nothing else but with mad gazings and foolish gaude [displays,] in the selfsame matter wherein the death of CHRIST ought diligently to be beaten into our hearts, and wherein also the mysteries of our redemption ought with all holiness and reverence to be executed.

Besides, where they say, and sometimes do persuade fools, that they are able by their masses to distribute and apply unto men's commodity all the merits of CHRIST's death—yea, although many times the parties think nothing of the matter, and understand full little what is done; this is a mockery, a heathenish fancy, and a very toy. For it is our faith that applieth the death and cross of CHRIST to our benefit, and not the act of the Massing priest.^p "Faith had in the sacraments" saith AUGUSTIN, "doth justify, and not the sacraments."^q And ORIGEN saith^r "CHRIST is the priest, the propitiation and sacrifice: which propitiation cometh to every one by means of faith." And so by this reckoning we say that the sacraments of CHRIST, without faith, do not once profit these that be alive: a great deal less do they profit those that be dead.

And as for their brags^s they are wont to make of

dess Isis, and deriving the former from the latter: *Varia Historia*, Lib. ii. c. 21.]

^p [The priest celebrating Mass.]

^q ["The merits of CHRIST's death, whereof we treat, are conveyed unto us by God, and received by us. God conveyeth them to us *only of his mercy*, and we receive them *only by faith*. But the ways whereby to procure God's mercy, or to enkindle our faith, are many, and sundry. God's mercy is procured sometimes by prayer, sometimes by other means. But to breed or increase *faith* in us, there are more ways than can be reckoned. Some men are moved only by the hearing of God's word: some others by the beholding and weighing of God's miracles.—Among other causes, the Sacraments serve specially to direct and to aid our faith; for they are, as St. AUGUSTINE calleth them "visible words," and seals, and testimonies of the gospel. All this notwithstanding, we say, It is neither the work of the priest, nor the nature of the sacrament, as of itself, that maketh us partakers of CHRIST's death, but only the faith of the receiver." *Defence*, p. 284.]

^r ORIGEN *In Ep. ad Rom.* cap. iii. Lib. III.

^s [In justification of his use of this word, JEWELL quotes their own writers claiming for the Pope an especial prerogative of jurisdiction over *purgatory*. "Animæ existentes in Purgatorio, sunt de juris-

their *Purgatory*;' though we know it is not a thing so very late risen among them, yet is it no better than a blockish, and an old wives,' device. AUGUSTINE, in-

ditione Papæ; et Papa, si vellet, posset totum Purgatorium evacuare.' 'The souls being in Purgatory, are under the Pope's jurisdiction: and the Pope, if he would, might empty all Purgatory.' JO. ANGELUS. And to this purpose the Pope himself commandeth (CLEMENS PAPA VITH, in *Bulla*,) and chargeth the angels of God to fetch forth from thence whomsoever, and how many soever, he will have delivered." *Defence*, p. 285.]

[*Purgatory*, signifying a state of cleansing, is a supposed place of temporary punishment, for the expiation of sin subsequently to death, and preparatory to admission to the joys of heaven. The unrepentant are supposed to have no concern in it, being consigned immediately to the eternal torments of hell. Such as are recognized by the Romish Church as *Saints*—or *die*, to use the customary expression, *in the odour of sanctity*, that is, wholly free from the stain of sin—are equally unconcerned with purgatory, being admitted forthwith to the future happiness of the blessed. All else are subjected to greater or less degrees of torment, in *purgatory*, for periods varying from a single day to thousands of years, according to their grades of sinfulness in this life.

"The doctrine of the Church of Rome is, that every man is liable both to *temporal* and to *eternal* punishment for his sins: that God, upon the account of the death and intercession of CHRIST, does indeed pardon sin as to its *eternal* punishment, but the sinner is still liable to *temporal* punishment, which he must expiate by acts of penance and sorrow, in this world, together with such other sufferings as God shall think fit to lay upon him: but if he does not expiate these in this life, there is a state of suffering and misery in the next world, where the soul is to bear the temporal punishment of its sins; which may continue longer or shorter, till the day of judgment. And in order to the shortening this, the prayers and supererogations of men here on earth, or the intercession of the saints in heaven, but above all things, the sacrifice of the mass, are of great efficacy." BURNET *on the Articles*, Art. xxii. p. 215.s.

The *prayers and supererogations* (i. e. acts of penance and mortification over and above those necessary for themselves) of departed *saints*, are believed to be, as a sort of fund, under the control and at the disposal of the Pope. His application of these to the benefit of whom he will, is supposed to give him that power of which, in JEWELL'S phrase, his followers 'make their brags.'

Of the *origin* of this doctrine, JEWELL says: "As for the fantasy of *Purgatory*, it sprang first from the heathens, and was received amongst them in that time of darkness, long before the coming of CHRIST; as it may plainly appear by PLATO (in *Timæo*,) and VIRGIL (*Æneid*. Lib. vi.) in whom ye shall find described at large the whole common-weal, and all the orders and degrees, of *Purgatory*. ST. AUSTIN saith the old heathen Romans had a sacrifice which they called '*Sacrum Purgatorium*,' a *Purgatory Sacrifice*. *De Civit. DEI*. Lib. vii. c. 7." *Defence*, p. 285.]

dead, sometime saith there is such a certain place;* sometime he denieth not but there may be such an one; sometime he doubteth:† sometime again he utterly denieth that there is any at all, and thinketh that men are therein deceived by a certain natural good will they bear their friends departed.‡ But yet of this one error hath there grown up such a harvest of those *Mass-mongers*, that the masses being sold abroad commonly in every corner, the temples of God became shops, to get money; and silly souls were born in hand [persuaded] that nothing was more necessary to be bought. Indeed, there was nothing more gainful for these men to sell!

* AUGUSTINUS in *Psalm*. 85.

† "Tale aliquid, etiam post hanc vitam fieri, incredibile non est: et utrum ita sit, quæri potest." "That some such thing may be even after this life, is not incredible: and whether it be so, may be a question." *Aug. ad Laurent.* cap. 67. To the same effect, *De Civitate Dei*. Lib. xxi. c. 26. *De Fide et Operibus*. c. 16.

‡ "Quis sit iste modus, et quæ sint ista peccata, quæ ita impediunt perventionem ad regnum DEI, ut tamen sanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam, difficillimum est invenire; periculosissimum definire: ego certe usque ad hoc tempus, cum inde satagerem, ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui." "What mean is this, and what sins there be, which so let a man from coming unto the kingdom of God, that they may notwithstanding obtain pardon by the merits of holy friends, it is very hard to find; and very dangerous to determine: certainly I myself, notwithstanding great study and travail taken in that behalf, could never attain to the knowledge of it." *De Civitate Dei*. Lib. xxi. cap. 27.

§ ["*Primum* locum fides catholicorum, divina autoritate, regnum credit esse cœlorum; unde non baptizatus excipitur: *secundum*, gehennam; ubi omnis apostata, et a CHRISTI fide alienus, æterna supplicia experietur: *tertium* penitus ignoramus; imo, nec esse in Scripturis sanctis inveniemus." "The first place, the catholic faith, by divine authority, believeth to be the kingdom of heaven; from whence whosoever is not baptized is excluded: the second place the same catholic faith believeth to be hell; where all apostates, and whosoever is without the faith of CHRIST, shall taste everlasting punishment: as for any third place, we utterly know none; neither shall we find in the Holy Scriptures that there is any such." *Hypognost.* Lib. v. In other places he asserts doctrine directly at variance with belief in *Purgatory*: "In quo quemque invenerit suus novissimus dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi novissimus dies. Quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur." "In what state soever his own last day shall find each man, in the same state the last day of the world shall find him. For such as every man in this day shall die, even such in that day shall he be judged." *Epist.* 80. To the same effect, *In Apocalyp.* Hom. 11; *Ad Petrum Diac.* cap. 3; *In Johan.* Tract. 49.—JEWELL'S *Defence*, p. 291.]

Sect. 15. Ceremonies.—As touching the multitude of vain and superfluous ceremonies, we know that St. AUGUSTINE did grievously complain of them in his own time :^y and therefore have we cut off a great number of them, because we know that men's consciences were incumbered about them, and the churches of God overladen with them. Nevertheless, we keep still, and esteem, not only those ceremonies which we are sure were delivered us from the Apostles,^z but some others too besides, which we thought might be suffered without hurt to the Church of God :^a for that we had a desire that all things in the holy congregation might, as St. Paul commandeth “be done decently, and in order.”^b But as for all those things which we saw were either very superstitious, or utterly unprofitable, or noisome, or mockeries, or contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or else unseemly for sober and discreet people ;^c whereof there be infinite numbers now-a-days where the Roman religion is used :—these, I say, we have utterly refused, without all manner of exception, because we would not have the right worshipping of God to be any longer defiled with such follies.

Sect. 16. Common Prayer.—We make our prayers in that tongue which all our people, as meet is, may understand ; to the end they (as St. Paul counselleth us)^d take common commodity by common prayer ; even as all the holy fathers and catholic bishops, both in the Old and New Testament, did use to pray themselves, and taught the people to pray too : lest, as St. AUGUSTINE

^y *Ad Januar. Ep.* 119.

^z [He doubtless intends *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, *Confirmation*, and *Common Prayer*.]

^a [Such as the use of Sponsors in the administration of infant baptism ; the sign of the cross in baptism ; bowing at the name of *JESUS* in the Creed ; the use of the surplice and clerical robes in public worship, &c.]

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

^c [It would be wearisome to enter into an enumeration of such ceremonies, practised in the Church of Rome. As an instance, liable to almost all the charges brought by JEWELL, it may suffice to mention the administration of *baptism*, in the name of the HOLY TRINITY, with the intervention of *godfathers* and *godmothers*, to the bells of churches ; a rite even yet retained in Europe !]

^d 1 Cor. xiv.

saith, "like parrots and ousels we should seem to speak that we understand not."

Sect. 17. Saints' Worship.—Neither have we any other Mediator and Intercessor,^e by whom we may have access to God the Father,^f but only JESUS CHRIST; in whose only name all things are obtained at his Father's hands. But it is a shameful part, and full of infidelity, that we see every where used in the churches of our adversaries, not only in that they will have innumerable sorts of mediators,^g and that utterly without the authority of God's word; (so that, as Jeremiah saith, the saints be now as many in number, or rather above the "number of the cities,"^h and poor men cannot tell to which saint it were best to turn them first; and though there be so many as they cannot be told, yet every one of them hath his peculiar duty and office assigned unto him by these folks—what thing they ought to ask, what to give, and what to bring to pass;) but besides this also, in that they do not only wickedly, but also shamefully, call upon the Blessed Virgin, CHRIST's mother, to have her "remember that she is the mother," and "to command her son," and to "use a mother's authority over him."ⁱ

^e 1 Tim. ii. 5. Rom. viii. 34.

^f Eph. ii. 18. iii. 12.

^g [The growth and extent of this practice are briefly recounted in BURNET'S *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, Art. xxii. p. 247. *ss.* Some revolting examples of the lengths to which it has been carried, are collected by FABER, *Difficulties of Romanism*. Book I. chap. xv. p. 193. *ss.* *Philad.* 1830.]

^h [By a happy accommodation, JEWELL applies what the prophet spoke of the idols of the Jews (Jer. ii. 28. xi. 13.) to the saints of the Romish Church. It is a well known fact, that almost every city and village in Romish countries has its distinct patron saint; and that in addition to these, there are saints recognized as the special protectors of persons afflicted with the various diseases—the tooth-ache, the leprosy, &c—to whom the petitions of the sufferer for relief are addressed, and the votive offering made, if relief is obtained.]

ⁱ [The blasphemies into which the Church of Rome has run, in its addresses to the Virgin, are such as could hardly be conceived, before acquaintance with the fact. The following specimens are given by FABER, *Difficulties of Romanism*, p. 193.

"Holy mother of God, who hast worthily merited to conceive him whom the whole world could not comprehend; by thy pious *intervention* wash away our sins, that so, being redeemed by thee, we may be

Sect. 18. The Atonement.—We say also, that man is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin: that nobody is able truly to say ‘his heart is clean:’ that the most righteous person is but an “unprofitable servant:”^{*} that the law of God is perfect, and requireth of us perfect and full obedience:¹ that we are able by no means to fulfil that law in this worldly life: that there is no one mortal creature which can be justified by his own

able to ascend to the seat of everlasting glory, where thou *abidest with thy Son* for ever.” *Collect. in Hor. ad usum Sarum.* Paris, 1520. fol. 4.

“Let our voice first celebrate Mary, *through whom the rewards of life are given unto us.* O Queen, thou who art a mother and yet a chaste virgin, *pardon our sins, through thy Son.*” *Ibid.* fol. 80.

“Cardinal BEMBUS, sometime the Pope’s secretary, calleth the same blessed virgin ‘*Dominam et Deam nostram,*’ ‘Our Lady and Goddess.’ (in *Epist. ad Carol. V.*)—AMBROSIUS CATHARINUS, in your late Chapter at Trident, [the Council of Trent] representing, as you say, your whole Catholic Church, calleth the same blessed virgin ‘God’s fellow,’ by these words ‘*Fidelissima ejus socia,*’ ‘His most faithful fellow [or companion]’ (*Conc. Trident. Sess. 2.*)”—JEWELL’S *Defence*, p. 297.]

^{*} Luke xvii. 10.

¹ [“God himself hath showed what perfection he requireth in man. Thus he saith: ‘Thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength:’ (*Deut. vi. 5. Matth. xxii. 37.*) ‘Thou shalt not decline—neither to the right hand, nor to the left:’ (*Deut. xvii. 11.*) ‘Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them:’ (*Deut. xxvii. 26; Gal. iii. 10.*) ‘Whosoever shall—offend in one point, he is guilty of all:’ (*James ii. 10.*) And CHRIST saith, ‘Be ye perfect (not measuring yourselves by your own ability, but) as your Father in heaven is perfect.’ (*Matth. v. 48.*) And yet hereby he meaneth not the perfection that is in God and his angels, [HARDING had contended that there were different kinds of perfection—of men—of angels—of God: and that such passages as *Matt. v. 48.* only meant a *quasi* perfection—an inferior sort:] but only that perfection that is required in man.”

“Ye will say, as the Pelagians did, Wherefore then doth CHRIST say ‘Be ye perfect?’ Wherefore doth St. Paul say, (*Phil. iii. 15.*) ‘Let us, as many as be perfect?’ Hereto St. JEROME answereth thus: ‘*Quid ergo sapimus,*’ &c. ‘What then do we think, or ought we to think, that be not perfect? We ought to confess that we are imperfect, and that we have not yet arrived at, or received (the perfection required.) This is the true wisdom of man, to know himself imperfect.’ (*Adv. Pelagianos, Lib. I.*) Again he saith: ‘*Justi appellantur,*’ &c. ‘They are called just men, not for that they be void of all manner of sin, but for that they are furnished with the greater part of virtues.’ (*Ad Ctesiphont.*) So likewise saith St. AUGUSTINE: ‘*Virtus, quæ nunc est,*’ &c. ‘The virtue, that is now in a just man, so far forth is called perfect, that it pertaineth to the perfection thereof, both in truth to know, and in humility to confess, that it is imperfect.’ (*Ad Bonifacium, Lib. III. c. 7.*)”—*Defence*, p. 299. s.]

deserts in God's sight: and therefore that our only succour and refuge is to fly to the mercy of our Father^m by JESUS CHRIST, and assuredly to persuade our minds that he is 'the *obtainer of forgiveness for our sins*; and that by his blood all our spots of sin be washed clean: that he hath pacified and set at one all things by the blood of his cross:ⁿ that he by that same one only sacrifice, which he once offered upon the cross, hath brought to effect and fulfilled all things; and for that cause he said, when he gave up the ghost, "IT IS FINISHED,"^o as though he would signify that the price and ransom was now full paid for the sin of mankind.

If there be any that think this sacrifice not sufficient, let them go, in God's name, and seek a better. We, verily, because we know this to be the *only sacrifice*, are well content with it alone, and look for none other: and forasmuch as it was to be offered but once,^p we command it not to be renewed again: and because it was full and perfect in all points and parts, we do not ordain in place thereof any continual succession of offerings.

Sect. 19. Good Works.—Besides, though we say, we have no meed [merit] at all by our own works and deeds, but appoint all the means of our salvation to be in CHRIST alone;^q yet say we not, that for this cause men ought to

^m "Ideo DEUS jubet aliqua, quæ non possumus, ut noverimus quid ab ipso petere debeamus." "God commands us to do some things that we are not able, to the end that we may know what we ought to ask of him." AUGUSTINUS, *de Gratia et Lib. Arbitr.* c. 16.

ⁿ Col. i. 20.

^o John xix. 30.

^p Heb. ix. 25, 26, 28.

^q ["Ye will say, 'If we find ourselves void of merit, how then shall we stand and be justified before God?' St. John saith: 'They have washed their robes, and made them white (not in their own merits,) but in the blood of the Lamb.' (Rev. vii. 14.) And God saith, 'I will give to him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life (not for his deserts, but) freely [*δωρεαν*, as a gift]. (Rev. xxi. 6.) The ancient father ORIGEN saith: 'Quia omnia conclusa sunt sub peccato; nunc non in meritis, sed in misericordia DEI salus humana consistit.' 'Forasmuch as all men are concluded under sin; now the salvation of man standeth not in man's merits, but in God's mercy.' (*Ad Rom.* Lib. IX. c. 12.) So saith St. JEROME: 'In CHRISTO JESU,' &c. 'In CHRIST JESUS OUR LORD, in whom we have boldness, and liberty to come, (to God,) and trust, and affiance by faith in him: not through

live loosely and dissolutely ; nor that it is enough for a Christian to be baptized merely, and to believe, as though there were nothing else required at his hand.* For true faith is lively, and can in no wise be idle.† Thus therefore teach we the people :—that God hath called us, not to follow riot and wantonness, but, as St. Paul saith, “ unto good works, to walk in them ;”‡ that we are “ delivered from the power of darkness, that we might serve the living God ;”§ to cut away all the remnants of sin ; and to “ work out our salvation with fear and trembling,”¶ that it may appear, that the spirit of sanctification is in our bodies, and that CHRIST himself dwelleth in our hearts by faith.¶

our righteousness, but through him, through faith in whom our sins are forgiven us.’ (in *Ep. ad Ephes.* c. 3.)

“ Hereof St. BERNARD in most godly and comfortable wise concludeth thus : ‘ Meritum meum,’ &c. ‘ My merit is the mercy of God. So long as God is not poor in mercy, so long cannot I be poor in merit. If his mercies be great, then am I great in merit. This is the whole merit of man, if he put his whole hope in the LORD.’ (BERN. in *Ps. Qui habitat.*)”—*Defence*, p. 305. s.]

† [JEWELL here, while he wholly excludes good works from being meritorious, and does not even allow them to rank as means of our salvation, evidently considers them as indispensable conditions—something ‘ else ’ than faith ‘ required.’ It will be seen, also, from the passage quoted in Note ¶, that he is far from regarding the exclusion of merit from works, as denying their title to reward, under the covenant of grace.]

‡ [“ St. Paul saith, ‘ If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith.’ (1 Tim. v. 8.) Again he saith : ‘ They profess they know God ; but in works they deny him.’ (Titus i. 16.) St. John saith : ‘ He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.’ (1 John ii. 4.) St. James saith, ‘ Faith without works is dead.’ (James ii. 20.) and ‘ the devils believe, and tremble.’ (ii. 19.) But a dead faith is no more a true, perfect faith, than a dead man is a true, perfect man. As for the faith of devils, it indeed and verily is no faith.

“ Certainly St. AUGUSTINE saith : ‘ Qui fidem habet sine spe et dilectione, CHRISTUM esse credit : non credit in CHRISTUM.’ ‘ He that hath faith without hope and charity, believeth CHRIST to be : but he believeth not in CHRIST.’ (In *Joan. Serm.* 61.) Again he saith : ‘ Inseparabilis est bona vita,’ &c. ‘ Good life can never be divided from faith, which worketh by love : nay rather, that same very faith itself is good life.’ (De *Fide et Operibus.* c. 23.)”—*Defence*, p. 302.]

§ Eph. ii. 10.

¶ Col. i. 10.

¶ Phil. ii. 12.

¶ [“ Whether good works shall be rewarded, or no, it was no part of our question. For we undoubtedly believe the words that are written

Sect. 20. *The Resurrection.*—To conclude; we believe that this our selfsame flesh wherein we live, although it die, and come to dust, yet at the last shall return again to life, by the means of CHRIST'S SPIRIT that dwelleth in us :^{*} and that then, verily, whatsoever we suffer here in the meanwhile for his sake, CHRIST will wipe away all tears and heaviness from our eyes : and that we through him shall enjoy everlasting life, and shall for ever be with him in glory. So be it.

CHAPTER VI.

The causes and Prevalence of Sects and Heresies in all ages.

Sect. 1. Behold, these are the horrible heresies, for the which a good part of the world is at this day condemned by the Bishop of Rome; and yet were never heard, to plead their cause! He should have commenced his suit rather against CHRIST, against the apostles, and against the holy fathers: for these things did not only proceed from them, but were also appointed by them. Except, perhaps, these men will say (as I think they will, indeed,) that Christ never instituted the *Holy Communion*, to be divided among the faithful: or that CHRIST'S Apostles and the ancient fathers said

by St. John: 'Their works do follow them.' (Rev. xiv. 13.) We believe the words that CHRIST saith to his disciples: 'Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.' (Matt. x. 42.) We believe that St. Paul saith: 'Your labour is not in vain in the LORD.' (1 Cor. xv. 58.) We grant, *good works have their reward*: but the same reward standeth in *mercy and favour*, and not in duty.

"Thus therefore we say: Considering the weakness and sinful corruption of our nature, there can be no works in us so pure and perfect that we may thereby, of right and of duty, deserve everlasting life. This is—the very plain sense and substance of God's word, and the undoubted doctrine of the ancient catholic fathers of the Church."

Defence, p. 304.]

^{*} Rom. viii. 11.

private masses in every corner of the temples, now ten, now twenty together in one day; or that CHRIST and his Apostles banished all the common people from the *Sacrament of his blood*; or that the thing that they themselves do at this day every where, and do it so, as they condemn him for a heretic which doth otherwise, is not called of GELASIVS, their own doctor, plain *sacrilege*; or that these be not the very words of AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE, GELASIVS, THEODORET, CHRYSOSTOM, and ORIGEN,—“the bread and wine in the sacraments remain still the same they were before”—“the thing which is seen upon the holy table, is bread”—“there ceaseth not to be still the substance of bread, and nature of wine”—“the self-same bread, as touching the material substance, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy;” or that CHRIST, the Apostles, and the holy fathers prayed not in that tongue which the people might understand; or that CHRIST hath not performed all things by that one offering which he once offered upon the cross; or that the same sacrifice was imperfect, so that now we have need of another.

All these things must they of necessity say, unless perchance they had rather say thus, that *all law and right is locked up in the treasury of the Pope's breast*, and that, as once one of his soothing pages and clawbacks [flatterers] did not stick to say, *the Pope is able to dispense against the Apostles, against a Council, and against the Canons, and rules of the Apostles*; and that he is not bound to stand, neither to the examples, nor to the ordinances, nor to the laws of CHRIST.

y [‘Papa potest dispensare contra jus naturale.’ ‘The Pope may grant a dispensation *against the law of nature*.’—‘Papa dispensat contra canones apostolorum.’ ‘The Pope has a dispensing power *with relation to the canons of the apostles*.’—‘Papa potest mutare formam verborum in Baptismo.’ ‘The Pope may change the *form of the words in Baptism*,’ (constituted by CHRIST himself.)—‘Privilegium dare potest *contra jus divinum*.’ ‘He can grant a privilege *at variance with divine right*.’—‘Papa potest dispensare de omnibus præceptis Veteris et Novi Testamenti.’ ‘The Pope may grant dispensations from *all the precepts of the Old and New Testament*.’ The references to the preceding assertions, and others equally enormous, in the Gloss upon the Canon Law, and writers of established reputation in the Church of Rome, are given by JEWELL, *Defence*, p. 313.]

Sect. 2. We for our part, have learned these things of CHRIST, of the Apostles, of the devout fathers: and do sincerely, with good faith, teach the people of God the same. Which thing is the only cause why we at this day are called "heretics" of the *chief prelate* (no doubt) of religion. O immortal God! Hath CHRIST himself, then,—the Apostles—and so many fathers, gone astray? Were then ORIGEN, AMBROSE, AUGUSTIN, CHRYSOSTOM, GELASIUS, THEODORET, forsakers of the catholic faith? Was so notable a consent of so many ancient bishops, and learned men, nothing else but a conspiracy of heretics? Or is that now condemned in us, which was then commended in them? Or is the thing now, by alteration only of one man's affections, become schismatic, which in them was counted catholic? Or shall that which in time past was undoubtedly true, now by and by, because it liketh not these men, be judged false? Let them then bring forth another gospel, and let them show the causes, why these things which so long have openly been observed and well allowed in the Church of God, ought now in the end to be called in again. We know well enough that the same word which was opened by CHRIST, and spread abroad by the apostles, is sufficient both to our salvation, and also to uphold and maintain all truth, and to confound all manner of heresy. By that word only do we condemn all sorts of the *old heretics*, whom these men say we have 'called out of hell again.' As for the *Arians*, the *Eutychians*, the *Marcionites*, the *Ebionites*, the *Valentinians*, the *Carpocratians*, the *Tatians*, the *Novatians*,^a and shortly, all them which have a wicked opinion either of GOD THE FATHER, or of CHRIST, or of the HOLY GHOST, or of any other point of Christian religion; for so much as they be confuted by the gospel of Christ, we plainly pronounce them for detestable and damned persons, and defy them even unto the gates of hell.^a Neither do we leave them so,

^a [It would occupy too much room to enumerate the errors of these various sects—some of them obscure and short-lived—none of them acknowledged at the present day. Sufficiently full accounts of their peculiarities, and several histories, may be found in the Second, Third, and Fourth Centuries of *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*.]

^a [This uncouth expression is agreeable to the fashion of controver-

but we also severely and straitly hold them in by lawful and politic punishments, if they fortune to break out any where, and bewray themselves.^b

Sect. 3. Indeed we grant that certain new and very strange sects, as the *Anabaptists*, *Libertines*, *Mennonites*, and *Zwenckfeldians*^c have been stirring in the world ever since the gospel^d did first spring. But the world seeth now right well, thanks be given to our God, that we have neither bred, nor taught, nor kept up these monsters. In good fellowship, I pray thee, whosoever thou be, read our books: they are to be sold in every place. What hath there ever been written by any of our company, that might plainly bear with the

sial writing in JEWELL'S day. It is, moreover, less unseemly in the original Latin, than when translated.]

^b [Here the author speaks the sentiments of his age. To avow a toleration of fundamental error (or, indeed, a *free* toleration of *any* error,) would at that time have been deemed unbearable. It had not been imagined possible by any, on either side of the great question then in dispute. On the one hand, the practice of the Romanists so long as they retained the ascendancy is well known. On the other hand, the Reformers, if they were less severe, were so rather from want of occasion or of power, than from opposite principle. CALVIN is well known to have been diligent in procuring the death of SERVETUS, because he denied the divinity of CHRIST; while LUTHER approved the act, and even the gentle MELANCTHON censured it solely on the ground of inexpediency. CRANMER at least *consented* to the burning of Arians, of Anabaptists, and, in the earlier stages of the reformation, of Sacramentarians. And to come down far later, did not the Pilgrims of New-England, when they had left their native soil because freedom of opinion and worship was denied them, commence persecutors on their arrival in their chosen asylum, and banish the dissenters from their polity, and burn the poor fanatics who disturbed their unity?

The true extent of the command of CHRIST, 'Put up thy sword'—the crowning principle of the Reformation—*entire freedom of opinion and worship*—was undiscovered when JEWELL wrote. He appealed to the modes of thinking of his contemporaries, and doubtless secured their approbation, when he spoke of 'straitly and severely holding in by lawful and politic punishments' the luckless beings whose want of information, or strength of prejudice, prevented their recognition of the light of truth which he and his associates enjoyed.]

^c [For accounts of the rise and peculiarities of these sects of fanatics, (all contemporary with the reformation, and deriving their existence from the excitement it produced) the reader is referred to the Ecclesiastical Histories of that age.]

^d [JEWELL here uses the word in the limited sense in which it was then commonly applied to the '*pure* gospel' taught in the doctrine of the reformers.]

madness of any of those heretics? Nay, I say unto you, there is no country so free from their pestilent infection, as these be, wherein the gospel of CHRIST is freely and commonly preached. So that if they weigh the very matter with earnest and upright advisement, this thing is a great argument^e of our part, that this same doctrine which we teach is the very truth of the gospel of CHRIST. For lightly neither is cockle wont to grow without wheat, nor yet the chaff without the corn. For from the very Apostles' times who knoweth not how many heresies did rise up even together, so soon as the gospel was first spread abroad? Who ever had heard tell of *Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Myrcosius, Colarbasius, Heraclio, Lucian, Severus,*^f and other like, before the apostles were sent abroad? But why stand we reckoning up these? EPIPHANIUS^g reckoneth up

^e [The reader must take this argument for what it is worth. Thank God! they were more solid arguments on which the doctrines of the reformation were established.]

^f [These are names of the leaders of heretical sects which arose in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. Such as may be curious to know their discordant and absurd perversions of the simple truths of Christianity, are referred to MOSHEIM, or other Ecclesiastical historians, in their account of those ages. Many of these false teachers, although their opinions obtained the name of Christian heresies, were any thing rather than *followers of CHRIST*. Yet it is unquestionably true that their extravagant doctrines did owe their origin to the promulgation of Christianity.]

^g [EPIPHANIUS wrote his work *against Heresies*, under the title of *Panarion*, about the fourth century. He specially considers and refutes *eighty* heresies, in as many chapters, besides making incidental mention of several others in the course of his work. He has, however, unnecessarily swelled the list, by enumerating several sects among Christian heresies, which had little or no connexion with Christianity; and by dignifying with the name of *heresies* differences of opinion, of which it is extremely doubtful whether they ever existed as the tenets of a sect. He was a weak and credulous writer; learned, but possessed of little judgment, not accurate in his investigation of facts, and biassed against every thing at variance with his own notions of orthodoxy.]

EPIPHANIUS was born in Palestine. He received a monastic education, and was for some time an anchorite in Egypt. He was chosen bishop of Salamis in Cypress in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was led to take an active part in the disputes respecting the opinions of ORIGEN, and actually went to Constantinople for the purpose of joining in the deposition of CHRYSOSTOM, because that learned and pious bishop had afforded protection to a body of fugitive monks ex-

fourscore and sundry heresies, and AUGUSTINE many more,^h which sprang up even together with the gospel. What then? Was the gospel therefore not the *gospel*, because *heresies* sprang up withal? Or was CHRIST therefore not CHRIST? Or, were CHRIST and his gospel the *cause* of these heresies?

And yet, as we said, doth not this great crop and heap of heresies grow up amongst us, which do openly, abroad, and frankly teach the gospel? These poisons take their beginnings, their increasing and strength, amongst our adversaries, in blindness, and in darkness, amongst whom truth is with tyranny and cruelty kept under, and cannot be heard but in corners and secret meetings.ⁱ But let them make a proof. Let them give the gospel free passage. Let the truth of JESUS CHRIST give her clear light, and stretch forth her bright beams into all parts: and then shall they forthwith see how all these shadows straight will vanish and pass away at the light of the gospel, even as the thick mist of the night consumeth at the sight of the sun. For whilst these men sit still, and make merry, and do nothing, we continually repress and put back all those heresies which they falsely charge us to nourish and maintain.

Sect. 5. Where they say, that we have fallen into sundry sects, and would be called, some of us *Lutherans*,

pelled from Egypt on account of their attachment to ORIGEN. The popularity of CHRYSOSTOM, however, deterred EPIPHANIUS from joining in the violent measures of THEOPHILUS, bishop of Alexandria, and his partizans, who proceeded in the deposition. He died at sea, on his return to Salamis, in 403.]

^h AUGUSTINUS, *Libro de Heresibus, ad Quodvultdeum*.

ⁱ [The rise of Socinianism remarkably illustrates this assertion. SERVETUS, who first broached its main principle, the denial of our LORD's divinity, was a Spanish physician, and it was in *Spain* and *France* that he formed and taught his opinions. The first who avoided attachment to those opinions were almost exclusively *Italians*; and they are known to have confirmed each other in their errors by means of such 'secret meetings'—as JEWELL speaks. SOCINUS himself was a native of *Italy*; and although the pompous stories told by his followers, of the clandestine meetings of a literary society in which he presided with more than forty associates, are without foundation; it is nevertheless true, that his opinions were imbibed there, and the disgrace of his heresy, if it attach at all to the country which gave it birth, must belong to the very seat of Romish orthodoxy.]

and some of us *Zuinglians*,* and cannot yet well agree among ourselves touching the whole substance of our

* [The allusion is to the difference of opinion among the reformers on the subject of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. LUTHER and his followers (including nearly all the German, the Swedish, and the Danish reformers, and some among those in France and Switzerland) maintained that the body and blood of CHRIST were given and received in the Sacrament *together with* the bread and wine; this opinion being distinguished by the name of *consubstantiation*. On the other hand, the majority of the Swiss divines, those of the Palatinate in Germany, a principal part of those in France, and all the English, maintained that the reception of the body and blood of CHRIST in the Eucharist is only *spiritual*—that the meaning of the words used by CHRIST in its institution—*This is my body &c. is only figurative*.

The name *Zuinglians* (for which subsequently the more general term of *The Reformed* was adopted, as distinctive from the *Lutherans*) is derived from ZUINGLIUS or ZUINGLE, the reformer of Switzerland. ULRIC ZUINGLE was born in a small village in the district of Tokenburg, in Switzerland, in 1487. He was sent by his uncle, an Ecclesiastic, to school at Basle, and subsequently at Berne. At both places he was distinguished for his application and abilities. After a two years stay in the university of Vienna, he returned to his native country in the capacity of a teacher, and joined with the business of instruction the study of theology. From WITTENBACH, then professor of Theology at Basle, who was in spirit a Protestant, though his death at an advanced age in 1520 removed him from any share in the reformation, ZUINGLE imbibed the great doctrines of the gospel. He was sedulous in the study of the Scriptures (an instance of which is his having transcribed all the epistles of St. Paul in Greek, and added in the margin notes from the fathers;) and in an unbiassed study of the ancient Christian writers.

Taking orders in 1506, ZUINGLE settled at Glaris, of which he became curate. Here he maintained an unblemished reputation, and by diligent study, advanced himself in sound theology and pure religion, during ten years. In 1516 he resigned his charge, and removed to a neighbouring abbey (of Einsidlen) for the purpose of closer study. While discharging the duties of preacher and confessor here, he formed an acquaintance with several learned men among its inmates, who subsequently became his associates in spreading the doctrines of the reformation. Here he gradually settled his opinions, and became daily more open and active in his opposition to Romish corruptions of doctrine and practice.

In 1518, he was chosen preacher in the cathedral at Zurich, and commenced upon the duties of the office in June, 1529. He preached boldly and plainly, explaining in course various parts of the New Testament, and advocating in his sermons the great principles of Christianity, so long obscured and kept out of view by popery.

In 1520 he obtained from the Senate of the city a decree that all ministers should explain the New Testament to their congregations, and teach nothing contrary to its contents. In the same year he disputed publicly with a minorite friar of Avignon, on the subject of saint-worship and the mass, and convinced him of his errors.

doctrine ; what would these men have said, if they had been in the first times of the Apostles and holy fathers, when one said, "I am of Paul," another, "and I of

In 1522 ZUINGLE openly declared against the authority of Rome, and in conjunction with nine other clergymen, petitioned the civil authorities for 'the free preaching of the gospel, and the abolition of clerical celibacy.' The remonstrances of his diocesan, the bishop of Constance, and even a cajoling letter from the Pope (ADRIAN VI.) himself, were ineffectually interposed to stop his career. His persevering efforts still continued, and resulted in a public disputation and conference, between select champions of the Romish tenets, on the one side, and himself and his associates, on the other, in 1523. ZUINGLE in vain endeavoured to procure a full discussion of his opinions in this assembly ; but managed his cause with such ability and success as to secure for it the avowed protection of the government.

In the same year another great assembly was held, in which the clergy and civil authorities of other cantons united with those of Zurich ; and ZUINGLE again appeared as the champion of reformation, in opposition to image worship, processions, relics, the mass, &c. The result of this was a decree of the senate of Zurich forbidding those Romish practices.

In 1524 ZUINGLE married the widow of a nobleman of Baden, although the question of the celibacy of the clergy had not yet been determined by any act of public authority.

The next year, he joined in a petition, with other clergymen, for the abolition of the mass ; and the request being immediately granted by the Senate, he and his colleagues celebrated the communion for the first time, in both kinds, with new and simple rites, on Easter day.

Such were the steps by which this great man effected an independent reformation of the religion of his country. He co-operated in the noble work with the apostle of Germany, but his share in the work was his own, originating with himself, and carried on by himself, exclusively as a chosen instrument of the Providence of God.

The completion of the work of reformation, by the establishment of an ecclesiastical system ; the defence of his principles against the Romanists on the one hand, and the Anabaptists on the other ; and the discussion of the Sacramentarian controversy with Luther and his followers, who violently attacked the simple tenets of the Swiss reformer ;—were the occupation of the brief remainder of ZUINGLE's life.

His death was peculiar. It was the custom of his country that the Pastor should accompany his flock when called out to war ; and even in the hour of battle be present to implore the divine blessing on their arms, and administer the consolations of religion to the wounded and the dying. Of the Swiss Cantons five had received the doctrines of the reformation : five not only refused to admit them, but persecuted individuals who embraced them. This the Protestant cantons resented, and showed their resentment by hostile acts, notwithstanding the earnest opposition of ZUINGLE. The result was a declaration of war on the part of the Popish cantons, and the commencement by incursions on the territory of Zurich. The forces of Zurich, though inferior, were drawn out, and with them their faithful pastor. They met the enemy in battle, and were defeated ; and ZUINGLE was among the slain. His

Apollos," another, "and I of Cephas?"¹ when Paul did so sharply rebuke Peter?—when upon a falling out, Barnabas departed from Paul?² When, as ORIGEN mentioneth, the Christians were divided into so many factions, as that they kept no more but the name of Christians in common among them, being in no manner of thing else like to Christians? When, as SOCRATES³ saith, for their dissensions and sundry sects, they were laughed and jested at openly of the people in their stages,⁴ and common game-plays? When, as Constantine the emperor affirmeth, there were "such numbers of variances and brawlings in the Church, that it might justly seem a misery far passing all the former miseries?" When also THEOPHILUS,⁵ EPIPHANIUS, CHRYSOSTOM, AUGUSTINE, RUFFIN,⁶ JEROME, being all Christians—

last words were, "Is this misfortune? they may indeed kill the body, but they cannot destroy the soul!" A Papist offered him a confessor: he shook his head. Another recommended him to consign his soul to the Virgin: he again refused. "Die, then, obstinate heretic," was the reply; and a thrust of a sword released him from his sufferings.]

¹ 1 Cor. i. 12.

² Gal. ii. 11.

³ Acts xv. 39.

⁴ [The ecclesiastical historian. He wrote in the fifth century. His History is a continuation of that of EUSEBIUS down to the year 440, compiled with care and considerable judgment.]

⁵ [Stages—theatrical exhibitions.]

⁶ [THEOPHILUS was bishop of Alexandria in the latter part of the fourth century. His meddling, litigious temper, involved him in continual disputes, in the management of which he appears to have regarded the advancement of his own interest and ends much more than the cause of truth or the preservation of Christian peace and unity. He violently opposed the opinions of ORIGEN. The monks of Nistria, who had espoused those opinions, were condemned, through his influence, in a council held at Alexandria in 399; and because CHRYSOSTOM admitted them to refuge in Constantinople, the restless persecutor made no intermission in his machinations, until he had solemnly deposed that prelate, and finally procured his exile and death. In this dispute he managed to involve EPIPHANIUS, whom he summoned from Cyprus to assist in deposing CHRYSOSTOM; and JEROME, whom he persuaded to translate into Latin a treatise which he had written against that unfortunate bishop, replete with the harshest invective. THEOPHILUS died in 412.]

⁷ [RUFINUS, or RUFFIN, a Latin writer of considerable eminence, especially as a translator, was a native of Italy, educated in Aquileia, but afterwards resident during the greater part of his life in Egypt and Palestine. In the latter country he contracted an intimacy with JEROME, and for some time received his warm support. But when

being all fathers—being all catholics—quarrelled one against another with most bitter, and most remediless contentions without end? When, as saith NAZIANZEN, “the parts of one body were consumed and wasted one of another?” When the whole East part of the Church was divided from the West, only about *leavened bread*, and only for the keeping of *Easter-day*;^a which

JEROME was induced to declare against the opinions of ORIGEN, the attachment of RUFIN for the writings of that eminent man broke off their friendship; and the publication of a translation of one of the works of ORIGEN by RUFIN, gave occasion to a bitter attack on him from JEROME. To this RUFIN replied, and a warm personal controversy was carried on with no small vehemence, not to say rancour. RUFIN died in Sicily, in 410. His works consist principally of translations, among which are several from ORIGEN—the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIUS—and the works of JOSEPHUS.]

• [“THEOPHILUS calleth EPIPHANIUS ‘*Heresiarcham*,’ that is, the grand captain and father of heretics. GENNADIUS, saith St. AUGUSTINE, was not far off from being a heretic. St. JEROME writing unto St. AUGUSTINE, saith thus: ‘I judged that there were certain heretical errors in your epistle. Pope Boniface II. said that AURELIUS the Bishop of Carthage, and St. AUGUSTINE, and other godly and learned fathers in the council of Africa, were ‘pricked on and inspired by the devil.’ St. AUGUSTINE willeth St. JEROME to acknowledge his error, and to recant.

“Thus much I thought good briefly to touch: not meaning thereby to deface the authority of the ancient fathers; but—to show that these and other like bishops and fathers, notwithstanding they were learned and godly, and worthy members of the Church of God, yet were not void of their infirmities.

“ERASMUS, a man of great judgment, saith thus: ‘*Illis temporibus, ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum.*’ ‘In those days it was a great point of cunning to know how to be a Christian man.’ And again: ‘*Illa ætate in chartis erat fides potius quam in animo: ac pene tot erant symbola, quot professores.*’ ‘At that time the faith was in books rather than in the heart: and in a manner there were as many sundry creeds as there were professors of the faith.’ (ERASM. in *Præf. in Tom. II. Hieronymi.*)”—*Defence*, p. 319.]

• [The controversy between the Greek and Latin Churches respecting the use of *unleavened bread* in the administration of the Eucharist, was of later origin than the other questions with which it is here connected, having first assumed a decided character in the eleventh century. It has since, as JEWELL states, ‘divided the whole East from the West;’ but not singly—being conjoined with many other, and some more important, grounds of difference. The Romish Church uses a wafer, made of *leavened dough*—the Greek and Eastern Churches use *unleavened bread*—some in the form of a wafer, but more in that of a cake, or small loaf, broken into morsels.]

• [The dispute relative to the time of keeping *Easter* was indeed very early. The Churches of Asia Minor, following the practice of the Apostles John and Philip, celebrated the feast of *Easter* or Christian

were indeed no great matters to be strived for? And when in all countries new *creeds* and new *decrees* continually were devised?

What would these men, trow ye, have said in those days? Which side would they specially then have taken? And which would they then have forsaken? Which gospel would they have believed? Whom would they have accounted for heretics, and whom for catholics? And yet, what a stir and revel keep they this day, only upon the two poor names of LUTHER and ZWINGLIUS! Because these two men are not yet fully resolved upon some one certain point of doctrine, therefore would they needs have us think, that both of them were deceived: that neither of them had the gospel: and that neither of them taught the truth aright.

Sect. 6. But, good God! what manner of fellows be these, which blame us for disagreeing? And do all they themselves, ween you, [think you,] agree well together? Is every one of them fully resolved what to follow? Have there been no strifes, no quarrels, no debates amongst themselves at no time? Why then do the *Scotists*,^v

passover, on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might fall. The Church of Rome and other western Churches, pleading the example of the Apostles Paul and Peter, kept it on the *Sunday* next following that day. In the second century, the venerable POLYCARP travelled to Rome with the view of removing this difference by conference with ANICETUS, then bishop of Rome. The interview was friendly, but unsuccessful. Towards the close of the century, the difference was changed to discord by an attempt of VICTOR, then bishop of Rome, to enjoin the practice of his Church upon those of the East. POLYCRATES, bishop of Ephesus, strenuously resisted him. VICTOR threatened excommunication. But the threat was an unheard of usurpation of power; and was so effectually opposed by IRENÆUS, bishop of Lyons, in France, that the whole dispute was for the time hushed up. The discrepance of practice between the East and West continued, however, until the Council of Nice; when it was finally decided by that body (the first claiming to represent the *whole* Church) that the custom of the Churches of the West should from that time be followed by all. Even then, the diversity did not cease at once: AUGUSTINE of Canterbury found the Asiatic practice in use in Britain, in the year 600.]

^v [The followers of JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, one of the most eminent among the *Schoolmen*, as they are termed, of the middle ages. He was a Franciscan friar, native of Britain, but resident in France and Germany, where he died, at Cologne, in 1308.

His followers had many peculiar opinions, not *only* in theology, but

and the *Thomists*,^v about that they call *meritum congrui* [merit of congruity] and *meritum condigni* [merit of condignity] no better agree together? * Why agree they no better among themselves concerning *original sin in the blessed Virgin?* concerning a *solemn vow*, and a *single vow*? Why say their canonists that *auricular confession* is appointed by the *positive law of man*; and their schoolmen contrariwise, that it is appointed by the *law of God*? Why

in philosophy. OCCAM, the founder of the *Nominalists* (see Note *) was his friend and disciple, and a leader among the *Scotists*.]

^v [The followers of THOMAS AQUINAS, dignified by the Church of Rome with the title of Saint; who for his eminence in the scholastic divinity and philosophy may be styled the Prince of the Schoolmen, and is currently known among them by the name of the *Angelic Doctor*. His subtle reasoning, and metaphysical jargon, did more, perhaps, towards the establishment of the Romish system of doctrine in its full extent of corruption, than the labours of any other man. He was born and educated in Italy; studied in Paris and Cologne; taught at Cologne, Paris, and last at Naples; and died on his way to a council at Lyons, in 1274, aged only 48. He was canonized by Pope JOHN XXII. in 1313, and declared a *father of the Church* by Pope PRUS V in 1567. His works fill eighteen folio volumes. That called the *Summa Theologiae*, a system of divinity drawn up in the scholastic method, is best known, and has been frequently republished.

THOMAS AQUINAS belonged to the order of the Dominicans. Hence, his opinions have been espoused by that order; while those of SCOTUS, his opponent, are adhered to by the Franciscans. "ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO saith, (*Advers. Hæres.* Lib. I. cap. 7.) that the Franciscan friars be sworn to DUNS [SCOTUS]; and that he heard a Dominican friar say openly in his sermon, that 'he was to be suspected, as a heretic, who in any thing dissented from THOMAS OF AQUINE.'"—JEWELL'S *Defence*, p. 321.]

* [The *Scotists* maintain that it is possible for man in his natural state so to live as to *deserve* the grace of God, by which he may be enabled to obtain salvation: this natural *fitness* (*congruitas*) for grace, being such as to oblige the DEITY to grant it. Such is the *merit of congruity*.

The *Thomists*, on the other hand, contend that man, by the Divine assistance, is capable of so living as to *merit* eternal life, to be *worthy* (*condignus*) of it in the sight of God. In this hypothesis, the question of previous preparation for the grace which enables him to be *worthy*, is not introduced. This is the *merit of condignity*.

The XIIIth Article is expressly directed against the Scotist theory.]

^v [The *Scotists* maintain that the Virgin Mary was conceived and born without sin; in other words, was by nature free from the corruption inherent in our race since the fall. This doctrine, called the doctrine of the *immaculate conception of the Virgin*, is vehemently opposed by the *Thomists*. The hottest dissensions have been maintained between the two orders of *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* on this impor-

doth ALBERTUS PIUS dissent from CAJETANUS? Why doth THOMAS dissent from LOMBARDUS, SCOTUS from THOMAS, OCCAMUS from SCOTUS, ALLIACENSIS from OCCAMUS? And why do their *Nominals* disagree from their *Reals*?^a And yet say I nothing of so many diversities of *Friars* and *Monks*; how some of them

tant point; which has never been authoritatively decided by the Pope, although repeated attempts have been made by both parties to procure a decision. The establishment of the festival of the *Inmaculate Conception*, in 1476, by Pope SIXTUS IV. is not considered as such; and even after the injunction for its observance, issued by Pope CLEMENT XI. in 1708, the Dominicans still consider themselves uncondemned.

The lengths to which this, and other controversies equally absurd, have been carried in the Romish Church, are hardly conceivable. In the year 1509, four Dominican friars were burned at Bern, in Switzerland, for having contrived and conducted a series of the most abominable impostures, to persuade the people that the Virgin herself had been in habits of familiar intercourse with a member of their monastery, and had declared to him that she was *born in original sin*. The plot was occasioned by an insult offered to one of their order in the sermon of a Franciscan. A circumstantial account of the whole transaction, which in wickedness almost surpasses belief, was extracted from the official records of the trial by Bishop BURNET, while on his travels in Switzerland. BURNET's *Letters*. p. 29—40. ed. *Roterd.* 1687.]

^a [It would be an endless task to enumerate the minute points of difference between these leaders in the scholastic divinity of the Church of Rome. Almost without exception, they relate to points of no *real* importance; generally to matters coming under the censure of being "wise above what is written:" yet they were disputed with a fierceness that would have been unbecoming even where all *faith* and *order* were at stake.]

^a [These were, in fact, *philosophical* sects, which arose in the thirteenth century: but the extensive influence which they exerted on the theology of the Church of Rome richly merited for them a place among its differences. This JEWELL shows, *Defence*, p. 323. s.]

The *Realists* maintained that the *genus*, or general character belonging to a multitude of individuals, (as that of *man*, belonging to all human beings,) is a real existence!

The *Nominalists* asserted the contrary; considering it to be merely a creation of the intellect, formed for the readier acquisition and application of knowledge.

The subtleties of this truly "unprofitable question" were introduced into the reasonings on the corporal presence of CHRIST, and hence derived their importance to the Church of Rome.]

^b [In common parlance, these words are used without much distinction. *Friars*, more properly, are the wandering, mendicant orders, dependent wholly upon charity for subsistence; *Monks*, the orders which are allowed to possess common property, and consequently have endowed habitations, and stated revenues. Both classes agree in being divided into fraternities, or brotherhoods, each possessing a common habitation; in being bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obe-

put a great holiness in eating of fish, and some in eating of herbs; some in wearing of shoes, and some in wearing of sandals; some in going in a linen garment, and some in woollen; some of them called white, some black; some being shaven broad, and some narrow; some stalking upon pattens, some going barefooted; some girt, and some ungirt. They ought, I wis [am sure] to remember, that there be some of their own company which say that the body of CHRIST is in his Supper *naturally*;^c contrary, other some of the selfsame company deny it utterly.^d Again, that there be others of them, which say, the body of CHRIST in the Holy Communion is *rent and torn with teeth*; and some, again, that deny the same.^e Some also of them therefore, that hold that the body of CHRIST in the Sacrament is "*quantum*"—that is to say, hath his perfect *quantity* in the Sacrament; some others again say, Nay. That there be others of them which say, CHRIST did *consecrate* with a certain divine power; some, that he did the same with his blessing; some again that say, he did it with uttering fine solemn chosen words; and some, with rehearsing the same words after again. Some will have it that when CHRIST did speak those fine words, the material wheaten bread was pointed unto by this demonstrative pronoun "*hoc*" [*this*];^f some had rather have that a certain "*vagum individuum*,"^g as they term it, was meant thereby. Again, others there be that say, *dogs* and *mice* may truly and

dience to the superiors; and in being regulated as to dress, mode of life; devotions, &c. by certain codes of laws. The difference between these codes, constitutes the difference between the several orders, as the *Augustins*, *Benedictins*, *Carthusians*, *Dominicans*, &c. It is to this difference, particularly, that JEWELL makes allusion.]

^c GARDINER in *Sophistica Diaboli*.

^d RICHARD FABER.

^e *Recantatio Berengarii*.—*Scholæ*, et *Glossa*.—GUIMUNDUS.—*De Consecr.* Dist. II. *Ego Berengarius*.

^f [In the words "*This is my body*;" the fruitful theme of all the disputes between the Romanists and Protestants—the Lutherans and Sacramentarians, relative to the true nature of the consecrated elements in the Eucharist.]

^g This barbarous term, meaning literally 'a vague individual,'—in other words, an *indefinite individuality*—was invented to conceal the absurdity of supposing CHRIST, using the organs of his material body, to assert of something *exterior* to that body that *it* was his body.]

in very deed eat the body of CHRIST;^h others again there be that steadfastly deny it. There be others that say, that the very *accidents*ⁱ of bread and wine may nourish; others again there be, which say that the substance of the bread returneth again by a miracle.^l What need I say more? It were over long and tedious to reckon up all.¹

So uncertain, and full of doubts, is yet the whole form of these men's religion and doctrine, even amongst themselves, from whom it sprang, and grew up first. For hardly at any time do they well agree between themselves: except it be peradventure as in times past the Pharisees and Sadducees; or as Herod and Pilate accorded together against CHRIST.

Sect. 7. They were best, therefore, to go and set peace at home rather among themselves. Of a truth, *unity* and *concord* doth best become religion:^m yet is not *unity* the sure and certain mark, whereby to know the Church of God. For there was the greatest unity

^h GARDINER. [See Note ^g page 56.]

ⁱ *De Consecratione*. Distinct. 2. *Species*. Glossa. [See Note ^p page 55.]

^k [This long catalogue of absurd—in some cases, almost blasphemous discussions of questions neither profitable, nor capable of solution; though made out by JEWELL for another purpose, furnishes of itself, if not a *proof*, yet an *exceeding strong presumption*, against that doctrine (of transubstantiation), from which they all arise.]

^l [To this list of disputes existing in the body of the Romish Church—which so falsely boasts of its *unity* as contrasted with the dissensions of Protestants—others even more fierce and important, which have arisen since the time of JEWELL, may be added.

The famous controversy between the *Jesuits* and *Jansenists*, for example, was as deep and deadly as any division existing among Protestants. The former maintained the free agency of man: the latter (called after JANSENIUS, a Flemish bishop, whose writings gave occasion to the dispute,) denied man's *ability* to work at all in his own salvation. Keen controversial writings—decrees of universities and faculties of theology—edicts of princes—solemn decisions of congregations of Cardinals—and pretended miracles—were mustered on either side. Finally the Pope and the king of France were ranged on the side of the Jesuits, and persecution and oppression, in their severest forms, put down the obnoxious *Jansenism*: although it is still more or less openly professed in many parts of Papist Europe.]

^m ["The true and Christian *unity* is this: that the whole flock of CHRIST hear the voice of the only shepherd, and follow him. (John x. 4.) The band of *unity* is simple *verity*."—*Defence*, p. 330.]

that might be, amongst them that worshipped the golden calf, and among them which with one voice jointly cried against our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, "Crucify him."ⁿ Neither, because the Corinthians were unquieted with private dissensions; or because Paul did square^o with Peter, or Barnabas with Paul; or because the Christians, upon the very beginning of the gospel, were at mutual discord touching some one matter or other; may we therefore think there was no Church of God amongst them. And for those persons whom they upon spite call *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans*, in very deed they of both sides be *Christians*, good friends and brethren. They vary not betwixt themselves upon the principles and foundations of our religion, nor as touching God, or CHRIST, or the HOLY GHOST, or the means of justification, or of everlasting life; but upon one only question, which is neither weighty nor great:^p neither mistrust we, or make doubt at all, but they will shortly be agreed.^q And if there be any of them which have other opinion than is meet, we doubt not but ere it be long they will put apart all affections, and names of parties; and that God will reveal the truth unto them: so that by better considering and searching out of the matter, as once it came to pass in the Council of Chalcedon, all causes and seeds of dissension shall be thoroughly plucked up by the root, and be buried, and quite forgotten for ever,^r which God grant!

ⁿ Luke xxiii. 18.

^o [This word is here used in an obsolete sense; meaning 'to disagree—take opposite sides.']

^p [That respecting the nature of the Sacrament of the Eucharist—involving the *manner* of the presence of CHRIST in that rite, and the manner of the residence of his glorified body in heaven.]

^q [JEWELL'S charitable hopes have been long unfulfilled. The dissensions between the Lutherans and the Reformed raged more fiercely than ever within fifty years after this was written; and even now, though they slumber, can hardly be said to be extinguished.]

^r [JEWELL'S hopes were—not that they would 'agree to disagree,'—not that they should amicably consent to encourage each other in what they reciprocally accounted error—but that they should be *united in the truth*. "Our trust in God," he says, "is, that they that are deceived shall find their own error, and alter their terms, and correct their judgments, and submit themselves unto the truth, and so join together all in one."

"So St. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Recte dicitur, Glacialem nivem calidam esse non posse. Nullo enim pacto, quamdiu nix est, calida esse potest.'

Sect. 8. But this is the heaviest and most grievous part of their slanders—that they call us wicked and ungodly men, and say we have thrown away all care of religion. Though this ought not to trouble us much, whilst they themselves that thus have charged us, know full well how spiteful and untrue their slander is. JUSTIN the Martyr is a witness that all Christians were called *ἄθεοι*, that is, *a godless people*,* as soon as the gospel first began to be published, and the name of CHRIST to be openly declared. And when POLYCARP stood to be judged, the people stirred up the president to slay and murder all them which professed the gospel, with these words: *Ἀπέ τοὺς ἀθεοὺς*, that is to say, *Rid out of the way*

‘It is well said, Snow frozen or congealed can never be hot. For as long as it is *snow*, it is not possible to make it hot.’ (*Cont. Fortunat.*) And yet the liquor that now is snow, may afterwards be resolved and made hot.

“What is there so contrary in judgment, as a Jew and a Christian? Yet God hath promised, ‘that he will turn the hearts of the fathers (the Jews) unto their children (the Christians): and the hearts of the children (the Christians) unto their fathers.’ (Malachi iv. 6.) And St. Paul saith the Jews ‘if they abide not in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again.’ (Rom. xi. 23.) What is there so contrary as light and darkness? Yet the prophet saith, ‘the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness.’ (Ps. xviii. 28.) To conclude: what is so contrary, as the kingdom of the Pope, and the kingdom of CHRIST? Yet we trust, it is not impossible, but the Pope himself may once turn to God, and confess his errors, and profess the gospel of CHRIST, that he now oppresseth.”—*Defence*, p. 331.]

* [Ἀθεοὶ κεκλημέθα. JUST. MART. *Apol.* i. § 6.

Δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἀθεῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν οὐρῶν. Id. *Apol.* ii. § 3.

JUSTIN, surnamed from the manner of his death the *Martyr*, is the earliest *Apologist* (or writer in defence) of Christianity whose works are extant. He was a native of Neapolis, in Palestine, but educated in the Grecian philosophy, with which he became deeply imbued, being specially attached to the sect of Plato. He was converted to Christianity, at a mature age, about A. D. 132. His *First Apology for the Christians* was presented to the emperor ANTONINUS PIUS, about the year 150, to avert the persecution under which the Christians were then labouring. The *Second Apology* was addressed, according to EUSEBIUS, to the emperor MARCUS AURELIUS, and to the Roman Senate. It was designed to answer several common objections against Christianity, and occasioned by the martyrdom of three persons whom URBINUS, prefect of Rome, had put to death solely because they were Christians.

Both these treatises are invaluable, as portraits of the faith and discipline of the Church in the middle of the second century, and as records of the difficulties with which the gospel had to struggle in its progress, and the nature of its influence and success.]

*these wicked and godless creatures.*¹ And this was, not because it was true, that the Christians were *godless* indeed, but because they would not worship stones and stocks, which then were honoured as God.

' The whole world seeth plainly enough already, what we and ours have endured at these men's hands for religion and our only God's cause. They have thrown us into prison, into water, into fire, and have imbrued themselves in our blood : not because we were either adulterers, or robbers, or murderers, but only for that we confessed^a the gospel of JESUS CHRIST, and put our confidence in the living God ; and for that we complained, too justly and truly, (LORD, thou knowest !) that they did break the law of God for their own most vain *traditions*, and that our adversaries were the very foes to the gospel and enemies to CHRIST's cross, so wittingly, and willingly, and obstinately, despising God's commandments.

Wherefore, when these men saw they could not rightly find fault with our *doctrine* ; they would needs pick a quarrel, and inveigh and rail, against our *manners* ; surmising that we do condemn all well doings : that we set open the door to all licentiousness and lust, and lead away the people from all love of virtue.

Sect. 9. And in very deed, the life of all men, even of the devoutest and most Christian, both is, and evermore

¹ [JEWELL'S memory appears to have deceived him when he made this quotation. The main fact, indeed, that the Christians were reproached as *Atheists*, is correct. But the reproach did not come, as he asserts, from the infuriate multitude. It was proposed to POLYCARP himself, by the Proconsul before whom he was tried, as a sort of test. " 'Recant,' he said ; ' say, *Away with the Atheists.*' " Then POLYCARP, looking sternly at the whole multitude in the stadium, and shaking his hand at them, groaned and looked up to heaven, and said, '*Away with the Atheists.*' " The reproach which the Proconsul wished him to cast upon the Christian name, he applied, as was more fit, to the heathen mob.—The passage is from the *Epistle of the Church of Smyrna* relative to the martyrdom of POLYCARP, quoted by EUSEBIUS, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 15.

POLYCARP was martyred A. D. 167, or according to Bishop PEARSON, 147.]

^a [*Confessed*—made profession of. In this sense, such among the ancient Christians as endured persecution, without actually suffering martyrdom, for their faith, were called *Confessors*.

The word is similarly used in Matt. x. 32, and the parallel passages, and 1 Tim. vi. 13.]

hath been, such as one may always find some lack, even in the very best and purest conversation. And such is the inclination of all creatures unto evil, and the readiness of all men to suspect, that the things which neither have been done, nor once were meant to be done, yet may be easily both heard and credited to be true. And like as a small spot is sooner espied in the neatest and whitest garment, even so the least stain of dishonesty is easily found out in the purest and sincerest^v life. Neither take we all them which have at this day embraced the doctrine of the gospel, to be angels, and to live clearly without any mote or wrinkle: nor yet think we these men neither so blind, that if any thing may be noted in us, they are not able to perceive the same even through the least crevice; nor so friendly, that they will construe aught to the best; nor yet so honest of nature or courteous, that they will look back upon themselves, and weigh our lives by their own.

If so be we list to search this matter from the bottom, we know that in the very Apostles' times there were Christians, through whom the name of the LORD was blasphemed and evil spoken of among the Gentiles. Constantius the emperor bewaileth, as it is written in SOZOMENUS, that many waxed worse and worse, after they had fallen to [joined] the religion of CHRIST. And CYPRIAN, in a lamentable oration setting out the corrupt manners of his time: "The wholesome discipline," saith he, "which the Apostles left unto us, hath idleness and long rest now utterly marred." "Every one studied to increase his livelihood; and clean forgetting, either what they had done before, whilst they were under the Apostles, or what they ought continually to do, having received the faith; they earnestly laboured to make great their own wealth, with an insatiable desire of covetousness." "There is no devout religion," saith he, "in priests, no sound faith in ministers; no charity showed

^v [The sense now generally attached to the word '*sincere*' is that of *freedom from deceit—frankness*. JEWELL here uses it in the old sense of *freedom from corruption—purity*. This is worthy of remark, as the same sense belongs to the word in Phil. i. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 2; Phil. i. 16 ('not sincerely'—not from *pure motives*); 1 Cor. v. 8 (purity of life); 2 Cor. i. 12; ii. 17 ('as of sincerity'—from *pure motives—with a pure conscience*); Tit. ii. 7: passages which would be misunderstood, if the word were taken in its modern acceptation.]

in good works, no form of godliness in their conditions : men are become effeminate, and women's beauty is counterfeited."v And before him TERTULLIAN saith : "O miserable we, who are now called Christians ! Under the name of CHRIST, we live as heathens."x And without reciting of many more writers, GREGORY NAZIANZEN speaketh thus of the pitiful state of his own time : "We" saith he "are in hatred among the heathen for our vices' sake ; we are also become now a wonder, not only to angels and men, but even to all the ungodly."y.—In this case was the Church of God when the gospel first began to shine, and when the fury of tyrants was not as yet cooled, nor the sword taken off from the Christians' necks. Surety it is no new thing that men be but men, although they be called by the name of Christians !

v CYPRIAN. *De Lapsis*. "Disciplinam quam Apostoli tradiderant, otium jam et pax longa corruptit." "Student augendo patrimonio singuli, et obliiti quid credentes, aut sub Apostolis ante fecerunt, aut semper facere debent, insatiabili cupiditatis ardore ampliandis facultatibus incubant." "Non in sacerdotibus religio devota, non in ministri fides integra, non in operibus misericordia, non in moribus disciplina. Corrupta barba in viris, in feminis forma fucata."

[It suited JEWELL's purpose to show that corruptions existed even in what we are accustomed to consider as the purest ages of the Church : and as there doubtless must have been ground for CYPRIAN's complaints, it was fair to quote them. But we must not form our ideas of the time from such exaggerated invectives. The prudent caution of MOSHEIM should be borne in mind. "From such general accusations, or from commendations of the same stamp, there is little or no certain information to be derived ; for they are generally dictated, and swelled into exaggeration, by a heated temper." *Comm. de Rebus Christianor.* Sæc. III. § xxv. (*).]

x "O miseros nos, qui Christiani dicimur hoc tempore ! Gentes agimus sub nomine CHRISTI."

y [To the remark in Note v it may be added with relation to GREGORY, that this passage was written under the influence of great excitement, and sense of personal injury ; and that at all times his fervid oratory represents things in colours far higher than they really possessed.

GREGORY, called from his birth-place, Nazianzum in Cappadocia, NAZIANZEN, was the son of the bishop of that place, born in 324. He was chosen Bishop of Constantinople, with circumstances very honourable to his reputation, in 379 ; but was compelled, by intrigue and opposition, to resign his see in 382. His works, consisting principally of Orations, Epistles, and poetical productions, were highly valued by his contemporaries and their immediate successors, and are among the most eloquent remains of Christian antiquity.]

* [This assertion applies to the days of CYPRIAN and TERTULLIAN : not to those of GREGORY NAZIANZEN, who wrote long after the esta-

CHAPTER VII.

The Lives and Manners of the Heads and Members of the Church of Rome.

Sect. 1. But will these men, I pray you, think nothing at all of themselves, whilst they so maliciously accuse us? And having leisure to behold so far off, and to see what is done both in Germany and in England, have they either forgotten, or can they not see, what is done at Rome? Or will they accuse us, their own life being such as no man is able to make mention thereof but with shame?^a

Sect. 2. Our purpose here is, not to take in hand at this present to bring to light and open to the world those things which were meet rather to be hid and buried with the workers of them. It beseemeth neither our religion, nor our modesty, nor shamefastness. But yet he which giveth commandment that he should be called the *Vicar of CHRIST*, and the *Head of the Church*—who also heareth that such things be done in Rome, who seeth them, who suffereth them, (for we will go no further) may easily consider with himself what manner of things they be.^b

blishment of Christianity, when prosperity was introducing corruption into the Church with rapid strides.]

^a [Several passages in the following sections contain charges which it was needful in JEWELL'S day to bring forward, that the whole mystery of iniquity which had so long worked in secrecy and uninterrupted security might be brought to light; but of a nature that must create unmixed disgust and pain to a modest eye. It could serve no good purpose now to repeat them; for the world knows what Rome was in its days of darkness and triumph, and even yet is: they are therefore omitted, and the gaps made by their omission marked with asterisks.]

^b [In the close of this section JEWELL brings up the story of *Pope Joan*—a story, which, after the most thorough sifting that could be given by the learned, both Protestants and Romanists, yet remains of dubious authority, neither wholly unworthy of credit, nor yet fully established as true. The amount of it is this: that, in the ninth century, a woman, having disguised herself in male attire, for convenience of intercourse with her paramour, a monk, eloped with him; studied

Sect. 3. * * * * *

What should we say any more of this? Their vicious and abominable life is now thoroughly known to the whole world. BERNARD writeth roundly and truly of the Bishop of Rome's house—yea, of the Bishop of Rome himself: "Thy palace," saith he, "taketh in good men, but it maketh none: naughty persons thrive there, and the good decay." And whosoever he were which wrote the *Tripartite Work* annexed to the Council of Lateran, he saith thus: "So excessive at this day is the riot as

philosophy at Athens; taught it at Rome; and attained such eminence as to be chosen successor to Pope LEO IV. who died in 855. In this high station she continued her former lewd habits, and died in childbirth, in the streets of Rome, during a public procession.

The story is marvellous: but the ignorance and corruption of the age to which it relates, were not less so. In the following century, SERGIUS III. and JOHN X. lived in open criminal intercourse with prostitutes; JOHN XI. was the son of SERGIUS III.; and JOHN XII., raised to the Popedom in his boyhood, openly practised the most abominable vices. These things appear almost as incredible as the history of Pope Joan.

One thing is certain—the story of a female Pope, with all its circumstances, received undisputed credence in the Church of Rome, until the use made of it by the Reformers aroused the attention of their adversaries.]

"Aula tua bonos recipit, non facit; mali ibi proficiunt, boni deficiunt." *De Consideratione, ad Eugenium.*—[BERNARD CLAREVALLENSIS (or of Clairvaux, so called from an abbey which he founded, ruled, and raised to eminence,) was a man of no ordinary cast. As a monk, he attained the pinnacle of fame and power: for having founded the abbey of Citeaux at the age of twenty-three, and that of Clairvaux almost immediately after, and established a new discipline, subsequently known as the Cistercian order; he lived to see a pope, six cardinals, and thirty bishops, from among the inmates of his own abbey, and one hundred and sixty convents founded under the regulations of his order.

As a preacher and moralist he obtained a very great reputation; and deservedly, for he was far beyond his age in all respects. His fervent piety, and copious, though loose and rambling, eloquence, make his productions useful even yet; which can be said of few of those of his contemporaries.

As a divine, he possessed almost unlimited power. His counsels were solicited and revered by popes and kings, and implicitly obeyed by prelates. His opposition sufficed to quell the rising influence of Abelard, and to procure his condemnation as a heretic; and to stifle the Petrobustians and Apostolics, two classes of rude forerunners of the Reformation: while his efforts set on foot the second Crusade, which he preached in France and Germany with success scarcely inferior to that of Peter the Hermit, the apostle of the first.

He died at Clairvaux, in 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age.]

well in the prelates and bishops, as also in the clerks [clergy] and priests, that it is horrible to be told."^d

But these things be not only grown in ure, [practice] and so by custom and continuance of time well allowed, as all the rest of their doings in manner be; but they are now waxen old, and rotten ripe. For who hath not heard * * * * what JOHN CASA, Archbishop of Beneventum, the Pope's legate* at Venice, wrote in the commendation of a most abominable filthiness; and how he set forth with most loathsome words, and wicked eloquence, the matter which ought not once to proceed out of any body's mouth? To whose ears hath it not come, that ALPHONZO DIAZ, a Spaniard, being purposely sent from Rome into Germany, so shamefully and devilishly murdered his own brother, JUAN DIAZ, a most innocent, and a most godly man, only because he had embraced the gospel of JESUS CHRIST, and would not return again to Rome?^e

^d "Tantus hodie est luxus, non tantum in clericis et sacerdotibus, sed etiam in prælatis et episcopis, ut horribile sit auditu."

* [A *Legate* is a prelate commissioned (*legatus*) by the Pope for the discharge of some special embassy at a foreign court.]

^e [The narrative of this crying villany is given more in full, from SLEIDAN, in JEWELL's *Defence*, p. 355.

"One *Juan Diaz*, a Spaniard, and a Doctor of the Sorbonne in Paris, after that God had given him grace to understand the truth of the gospel, departed thence, and came into Germany, and rested at Neuburg, in the dominion of Otho Henry, Count Palatine. His brother *Alphonso Diaz*, being then in Rome, and understanding hereof, immediately took horses, and with all speed came into Germany, minding to withdraw his brother from his purpose. Finding him constant and steadfast, and not likely any ways to be removed, in the end he feigned himself, by the weight of his reasons to be persuaded to the same religion; and desired him to return with him into Italy, for that he should do more good there, than he could in Germany. But seeing him for sundry causes firmly bent to stay there, he took his leave, and departed thence, and exhorted him to continue constant in the truth, and came to Augsburg, six German miles from Neuburg. The next day, as having forgotten some special matter he had to say to his brother, he returned back again from thence to Neuburg, and by the way bought a carpenter's axe; and entering into the town upon the 27th of March, he came to his brother's lodgings at the break of the day, and himself watching beneath, sent up his servant with the axe to do the deed. The servant after he had called forth *Juan Diaz*, and had delivered him a letter from his brother *Alphonso*, and saw him turn towards the light to read the same, came suddenly behind him, and struck him in the head with his axe, and leaving it sticking in the wound, came away, together with *Alphonso*, his master."]

Sect. 4. But it may chance to this they will say, These things may sometimes happen in the best governed commonwealths, yea, and against the magistrates' wills; and besides, there be good laws made to punish such. I grant it be so. But by what good laws, I would know, have these great mischiefs been punished amongst them? * * * * *Diaz*, after he had murdered his own brother, was delivered, by the Pope's means, to the end he might *not* be punished by good laws. *John Casa*, the Archbishop of Beneventum, is yet alive, yea, and liveth at Rome, even in the eye and sight of the most Holy Father.

They have killed infinite numbers of our brethren, only because they believed truly and sincerely in **JESUS CHRIST**. But of that great and foul number of harlots, fornicators, adulterers, what one have they at any time—I say not, put to death—but either excommunicated, or once attached? Why? Voluptuousness, * * * and other more abominable practices, are they not counted sins at Rome? Or, if they be sin, ought **CHRIST'S Vicar, Peter's successor, the Most Holy Father,**^s so lightly and slyly to bear them, as though they were no sin; and that in the city of Rome, and in the principal tower of *holiness*?^h O holy Scribes and Pharisees, which never knew this kind of *holiness*! Oh, what a *holiness*, what a *catholic faith* is this! Peter did not thus teach at Rome: Paul did not so live at Rome: * * * they suffered no common adulterers and wicked murderers to go unpunished. They did not receive them into their familiarity, into their council, into their household, nor yet into the company of Christian men.

Sect. 5. These men ought not, therefore, so unreasonably to triumph against our living. It had been more wisdom for them, either first to have proved good their own life before the world, or at the least to have cloaked it a little more cunningly. For we do use still the old and ancient laws, and (as much as men may do, in the manners used at these days, all things being so wholly corrupt,) we diligently and honestly put in execution the

^s [These are ordinary titles of the Pope.]

^h [The Pope is addressed as *His Holiness*.]

ecclesiastical discipline. * * * * We do not suffer such as ALOYSIUS, CASA, and DIAZ, to escape unpunished. For if these things would have pleased us, we needed not to have departed from these men's fellowship, amongst whom such enormities be in their chief pride and price; neither needed we, for leaving them, to run into the hatred of men, and into most wilful dangers.

PAUL the Fourth, not many months since, had at Rome in prison certain Augustin friars, many bishops, and a great number of other devout men, for religion's sake. He racked them, and tormented them: to make them confess, he left no means unassayed. But in the end how many whoremongers, how many adulterers, how many incestuous persons, could he find of all those! Our God be thanked, although we be not the men we ought and profess to be, yet whosoever and whatsoever we be, compare us with these men, and even our own life and innocency will soon prove untrue, and condemn, their malicious surmises. For we exhort the people to all virtue and well-doing, not only by books and preachings, but also by our examples and behaviour. We also teach that the gospel is not a boasting or bragging of knowledge, but that it is the *law of life*, and that a Christian man, as TERTULLIAN saith,ⁱ "ought not to *speak* honourably, but to *live* honourably:" nor they that be the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law, which are justified before God.^k

Sect. 6. Beside all these matters, wherewith they charge us, they are wont also to add this one thing, which they enlarge with all kind of spite: that is, that we be men of trouble—that we pluck the sword and sceptre out of kings' hands—that we arm the people—that we overthrow judgment places, destroy the laws, make havoc of possessions, seek to make the people princes, turn all things upside down; and, to be short, that we would have nothing in good frame in a commonwealth.^l Good LORD! how often have they set on

ⁱ [JEWELL'S margin refers to TERTULLIAN. *Apologet.* 45. The passage in the text is not to be found there. It is not a quotation from TERTULLIAN, but a summary of what he says in the chapter to which reference is made.]

^k Rom. ii. 13.

^l [In justification of these charges, HARDING alleged the revolt of the

fire princes' hearts with these words, to the end they might quench the light of the gospel in the very first

boors in Germany; the league of the German princes against Charles V.; the Anabaptist war; the revolt of part of Switzerland from the Duke of Savoy; and JOHN KNOX's famous book, '*The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment [government] of Women.*' To these instances JEWELL makes answer:

"The *boors* of Germany, for the greatest part, were adversaries unto Dr. LUTHER, and understood no part of the gospel: but conspired together, as they said, only against the cruelty and tyranny of their lords; as they had done two and twenty years before, in the same country, in the conspiracy called *Liga Sotularia*, fifteen years before Dr. LUTHER began to preach—the partners of which conspiracy had for their watchword the name of '*Our Lady*,' and in the honour of her were bound to say five '*Ave Marias*' every day. Certainly, touching these later rebels, it is known that LUTHER sharply and vehemently wrote against them. And they themselves, being demanded thereof, utterly denied both the partaking, and also the knowledge of the gospel.

"The *princes* of Germany raised not their powers, as ye say, against the emperor Charles the Fifth; but being wrongfully and contrary to the law of arms invaded by him, they were forced, being free princes, by the law of nature, to draw their sword in their own defence.

"The *rebels* at Munster were not Gospellers, but frantic Anabaptists, and heretics, as ye be; and therefore, enemies to the gospel.

"The *Lords* of Berne were never subjects to the Duke of Savoy. That they took certain of his castles in their confines, they did it rightly, and by the law of arms, being forced thereto by daily invasions and robberies, and not able otherwise to live in rest.—But indeed the said poor Duke was utterly spoiled of his whole dominion—of the one half, by his brother-in-law the emperor Charles V.; of the other half, by his nephew Francis, the French king—by the counsel of Pope Clement VII. after their great interview at Marseilles. And thereof was devised a pretty Pasquil, declaring the miserable case of the poor Duke, '*Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea; et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*'—'They have divided my vesture among them; and concerning my garments they did cast lots.'

"The heads of England and Scotland,' that, as ye say, 'were laid together at Geneva, touching the government of women,' being well accounted, were nothing so many as ye would seem to imagine. For if there had been but *one less*, for aught that I have heard, there had been *but one at all*. Such hot amplifications it liketh you to make of so small a number. We will defend no man in his error. Let every man bear his own guilt. M. CALVIN, M. MARTYR, M. MUSCULUS, M. BULLINGER, and others, whom you call the faithful brothers of England, misliked that enterprize, and wrote against it." *Defence*, p. 359.

JEWELL's facts are correct. Yet it would have been hard for him to show that the principles of the Reformation were not adapted to create disturbance to the despotic governments which then prevailed, almost without exception, throughout the world. And it would be still more difficult, at the present day, to disprove the assertion, that to the Reformation, under the providence of God, we owe all those blessings of civil and religious liberty which are now so widely extended, and so

appearing of it, and that men might begin to hate the same, ere ever they were able to know it, and to the end that every magistrate might think he saw his deadly enemy, as oft as he saw any of us !^m

Surely it should exceedingly grieve us, to be so maliciously accused of most heinous treason, unless we knew that CHRIST himself, the Apostles, and a number of good Christian men, were in times past blamed and reviled in like sort. For although CHRIST taught they should "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,"ⁿ yet was he charged with sedition, and was accused to devise some conspiracy, and seek ways to get the kingdom.^o And thereupon they cried out with open mouth against him in the place of judgment, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend."^p And though the Apostles did likewise evermore and steadfastly teach that magistrates ought to be obeyed—that "every soul" ought to "be subject unto the higher powers"—"not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake,"^q yet bare they the name to disquiet the people, and to stir up the multitude to rebel.^r After this sort did Haman, specially, bring the nation of the Jews into the hatred of king Ahasuerus, because, said he, they were a rebellious and stubborn people, and despised the ordinances and commandments of princes.^s Wicked king Ahab said to Elisha the prophet of God, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?"^t Amaziah the priest at Bethel laid a conspiracy to the prophet Amos' charge before king Jeroboam, saying, "Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel."^u To be brief. TERTULLIAN saith this was the general accusation of all Christians while he lived, that 'they were traitors—that they were rebels, and the enemies of mankind !'—Where-

rapidly spreading, throughout the world. That its tendency should be to produce these results even at the expense of temporary commotion, will be deemed an objection by few thinking men.]

^m [JEWELL refers, in his margin, to TERTULLIAN, *Apologetic*, chap. 1, 2, 3; meaning to compare the slanderous accusations of the Romanists against the Protestants with the similar charges brought against the early Christians.]

ⁿ Matt. xxii. 21.

^p John xix. 12.

^r Acts xvi. 20; xvii. 6, 7.

^t I Kings xviii. 17.

^v TERTULLIAN. *Apologet.* c. xxxvii.

^o Luke xxiii. 2.

^q Rom. xiii. 1, 5.

^s Esther iii. 8, 9.

^u Amos vii. 10.

fore, if now-a-days the truth be likewise evil spoken of, and being the same truth it was then, if it be now like despitefully used, as it was in times past; though it be a grievous and unkind dealing, yet can it not seem unto us a new, or an unwonted matter.

Sect. 7. Forty years ago, and upward, it was an easy thing for them to devise against us these accursed speeches, and other too, sorer than these; when in the midst of the darkness of that age first began to spring, and to give shine, some one glimmering beam of truth, unknown at that time, and unheard of; when also MARTIN LUTHER and ULRIC ZUINGLE, being most excellent men, even sent of God to give light to the whole world, first came unto the knowledge and preaching of the gospel; when as yet the thing was but new, and the success thereof uncertain; and when men's minds stood doubtful and amazed, and their ears open to all slanderous tales; and when there could be imagined against us no fact so detestable, but the people then would soon believe it, for the novelty and strangeness of the matter. For so did SYMMACHUS,* so did CELSUS,† so did JULIAN,‡ so did

* [A Roman senator of the fourth century, who distinguished himself by his endeavours to maintain the tottering superstitions of Paganism against the emperors Valentinian and Theodosius. His eloquence, which had raised him to great eminence, was zealously exerted, in an embassy to Valentinian, and subsequently in a petition to Theodosius, for the restoration of an altar to the goddess of Victory; but without success. He was subsequently made Consul, in 391.]

† [A heathen philosopher of the Epicurean sect, who wrote against the Christian religion in the second century. Little more is known of him than his name; and that, with some fragments of his book against Christianity, principally through the answer of ORIGEN.]

‡ [JULIAN, surnamed, from his desertion of Christianity, in which he was educated, the *Apostate*, succeeded Constantius in the Roman empire, in 361. His reign, which lasted only fifteen months, was spent in unceasing efforts to subvert the religion of CHRIST. Too cunning to direct against it open persecution, Julian employed every insidious art to deprive the Christians of their influence, their learning, their wealth, and their religious liberty. He encouraged tumultuous risings among the Pagans, who were yet numerous, and availed himself of the slightest pretext to deprive the Christians of their churches and endowments. His letters breathe the most irreconcilable hatred to the *Galileans*, as he termed them, and a firm determination utterly to destroy their faith. To this end he composed the work *against the Christians*, to which JEWELL refers. Only some fragments of it are now extant, preserved in the answer of CYRIL of Jerusalem.]

PORPHYRY,* the old foes to the gospel, attempt in times past to accuse all Christians of sedition and treason; before that either prince or people were able to know who those Christians were, what they professed, what they believed, or what was their meaning.

But now, since our very enemies do see, and cannot deny, but we even in all our words and writings have diligently put the people in mind of their duty to obey their princes and magistrates, yea, though they be wicked; (for this doth very trial and experience sufficiently teach, and all men's eyes, whosoever and where-soever they be, do well see and witness for us;) it was a foul part of them to charge us with these things: and seeing they could find no new and late faults, therefore to seek to procure us envy only with stale and outworn lies. We give our LORD GOD thanks, (whose only cause this is,) there hath yet at no time been any such example in all the realms, dominions, and commonwealths, which have received the gospel. For we have overthrown no kingdom: we have decayed no man's power or right: we have disordered no commonwealth. There continue in their own accustomed state, and ancient dignity, the kings of our country of *England*, the kings of *Denmark*, the kings of *Sweden*, the dukes of *Saxony*, the Counties *Palatine*, the Marquesses of *Brandenburgh*, the Landgraves of *Hesse*, the commonwealth of the *Helvetians* and *Rhetians*, [the upper and lower *Swiss* cantons,] and the free cities, as *Strasburgh*, *Basle*, *Frankfort*, *Ulm*, *Augsburgh*, and *Nuremberg*; these do all, I say, abide in the same authority and estate wherein they have been heretofore; or rather in a much better,

JULIAN'S abortive attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem was another specimen of his hostility to Christianity, which made him willing even to employ the aid of the Jews, whose faith was equally hostile to his own. See *Standard Works*, Vol. I. p. 309. ss.

He died, in a war against Persia, in 362.]

* [PORPHYRY, a heathen philosopher belonging to the school of the later Platonists, acquired great celebrity as a teacher of the opinions of that sect, and of polite literature, in the third century. He was born at Tyre in 233, studied under Longinus at Athens, and under Platinus at Rome, and succeeded the latter in his school, where he taught until the close of the century.]

His work against the Christian religion is lost, and is known only from the answers and allusions of EUSEBIUS, JEROME, AUGUSTINE, and other Christian writers.]

for that by the gospel they have their people more obedient unto them than ever they had before.^a Let them go, I pray you, into those places where at this present, through God's goodness and mercy, the gospel is taught. Where is there more majesty? Where is there less arrogance and tyranny? Where is the prince more honoured? Where is the people less unruly? Where hath there at any time either the commonwealth, or the Church, been in more quiet? Perhaps ye will say, From the first beginning of this doctrine the common sort every where began to rage and rise through Germany.—Allow it were so. Yet MARTIN LUTHER, the publisher and setter forward of this doctrine, did write marvellous vehemently and sharply against them, and reclaimed them home to peace and obedience.

Sect. 8. But whereas it is wont sometime to be objected, by persons wanting skill, touching the Helvetian's [Swiss] change of state, and killing of Leopold duke of Austria, and restoring by force their country to liberty—all that was done, as appeareth plainly by all stories, for two hundred and threescore years past,^b or above, in the time of Pope Boniface the Eighth, when the authority of the Bishop of Rome was in greatest jollity; [in its most flourishing condition;] about *two hundred years* before ULRIC ZUINGLE either began to teach the gospel, or yet was born. And ever since that time they have had all things quiet, not only from foreign enemies, but also from all civil dissension. And if it were a sin in the Helvetians [Swiss] to deliver their

^a [The subsequent experience of nearly three centuries, has abundantly confirmed JEWELL's observation of the influence of Protestant principles in furthering the prosperity of the state. Witness Spain and Italy, the most bigotted to Romanism, and the most degraded, of the nations of Europe—France, and the Papist sections of Germany, in which the lower orders are only less debased than those of Spain and Italy—and contrasted with their stationary, or even retrograde condition, the constant growth of every Protestant power in Europe, since the era of the Reformation.—It is a hackneyed remark of travellers, that the prevalence of the Reformation in a section of country may be recognized by the neatness, comfort, and industrious habits of its population.]

^b [The revolt of Switzerland from the dominion of Austria began in 1307; and the Confederacy of the Cantons was formed eight years afterward.]

our country from foreign government, especially when they were so proudly and tyrannously oppressed; yet to burden *us* with *other men's* faults, or *them* with the faults of their *forefathers*, it is against all right and reason.

Sect. 9. But, O immortal God! and will the *Bishop of Rome* accuse *us* of treason? Will *he* teach the people to obey and follow their magistrates? Or hath *he* any regard at all of the majesty of a prince? Why doth *he*, then, as none of the old bishops of Rome ever did, suffer himself to be called of his flatterers "Lord of lords," as though he would have all kings and princes, who and whatsoever they be, to be his underlings? Why doth he vaunt himself to be "King of kings," and to have kingly royalty over his subjects? Why compelleth he all emperors and princes to swear to him fealty and true obedience? Why doth he boast, that "the Emperor's majesty is a thousand fold inferior to him,"^a and that for this reason specially, that God hath made two lights in heaven; and because heaven and earth were created, not in two beginnings, but in one?^c Why hath he and his fellows (like Anabaptists and Libertines, to the end they might run on more licentious and carelessly,) shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from being under a civil power? Why hath he his *Legates* (as much to say, as most subtle spies) lying in wait in all

^c ["This, I trow, it is, that the Pope proclaimeth himself *heir apparent of all kingdoms*. This it is, that Pope Nicholas saith, '*CHRISTUS beato Petro, æternæ vitæ clavifero, terrarum simul, et cœlestis imperii jura commisit.*' '*CHRIST* hath committed unto Saint Peter, the key-bearer of everlasting life, the right both of the *terrestrial*, and also of the celestial empire.' (*Clementin. Lib. II. De appellation. Pastor. Dist. 22. Omnes.*) This it is, that some are bold to say, '*Papa totius mundi obtinet principatum.*' '*The Pope hath the principality of the whole world.*' (*In Sexto. Lib. III. Tit. 16. de statu reg.*) And that some others have said, '*Papa est rex regum, et dominus dominantium.*' '*The Pope is king of kings, and lord of lords.*' (*ANTONIUS DE ROSELLIS.*) And that Pope ADRIAN saith of himself: '*Imperator quod habet, totum habet a nobis. Ecce in potestate nostra est, ut demus imperium, cui volumus.*' '*Whatsoever the emperor hath, he hath it of us. It is in our power to bestow the empire upon whom we will.*' (*Epist. ADRIAN. in AVENTINO.*)"—*Defence*, p. 371.]

^a INNOCENS *De Major. et Obedient. Solita.*

^b *Id. ibid.*

kings' courts, councils, and privy chambers? Why doth he, when he list, [pleases,] set the Christian princes one against another, and at his own pleasure trouble the whole world with debate and discord? Why doth he excommunicate, and command to be taken as a heathen and a pagan, any Christian prince that renounceth his authority?' And why promiseth he his *indulgences*

^f [The first attempt to exercise the power of excommunication against the temporal authorities, was made by Pope Gregory IV. in 832. He became a party in the revolt against the emperor Lewis the Debonair, and threatened the *bishops* who remained faithful with excommunication. His threats, however, were treated with contempt, and he proceeded no further.

Nicholas I. in 862, first directed this spiritual weapon against a prince, in the person of Lothaire, king of Lorraine, the grandson of Lewis the Debonair; and with success: the circumstances of the monarch being such, that he was forced to submit.

Charles the Bold, uncle of Lothaire, was threatened with excommunication by Adrian II. but without success.

John VIII. the successor of Adrian, carried his pretensions still higher. He wrote to Charles the Fat, king of France, 'Be content with your own kingdom, for I shall instantly excommunicate all who attempt to injure my son,' (so he called Boson, king of Arles, against whom Charles had formed a league.) In another letter he threatened the same king with '*immediate excommunication*, to be followed by *still severer castigation*,' if his commands were not obeyed.

Gregory VII. (known also by his real name HILDEBRAND, the other having been assumed when he was chosen to the pontificate) placed the usurped power of Rome at its highest pitch. A dispute had long existed between the emperors of Germany and the Popes respecting the rights of investiture, i. e. conferring ecclesiastical dignities, which the emperors claimed to exercise in their own dominions, while the Popes asserted their exclusive right. In process of this dispute, Gregory summoned the emperor Henry IV. to appear at Rome, and answer charges brought against him by his subjects. Henry indignantly refused, and summoning the clergy of his dominions to Worms, declared in council that Gregory should no longer enjoy the Pope's honours; the right of confirmation to that high dignity having been claimed by former emperors, and allowed by several Popes, and even by Gregory himself.

But now Gregory, availing himself of the intestine discords of the empire, disregarded the sentence of the emperor, and on his part, called a council in the Lateran palace, and solemnly *excommunicated* Henry, adding the declaration of his *deposition from the empire*; of the *absolution of his subjects from their allegiance*; and of the *unlawfulness of further obedience to his authority*.

The emperor's subjects rebelled; his clergy forsook him; and, in despair, he was forced to cross the Alps, and in the most abject manner—alone, barefooted, clad in a woollen shirt, exposed to the severity of winter—wait three days in an outer court of the Pope's residence, craving absolution. This took place in 1077.

The same haughty pontiff menaced Philip I. king of France, with an

and his *pardons* largely to any that will (what way soever it may be) kill any of his enemies? Doth he maintain empires and kingdoms? Or doth he once desire that common quiet should be provided for?

You must pardon us, good reader, though we seem to utter these things more bitterly and bitinglly than it becometh divines to do. For both the shamefulnes of the matter, and also the desire of rule in the bishop of Rome, is so exceeding and outrageous, that it could not well be uttered with other words, or more mildly. For he is not ashamed to say in open assembly, that "all jurisdiction of all the kings and princes of the world dependeth of himself."⁵ And to feed his ambition and

interdict, and sentence of deposition; claimed the kingdom of Spain as belonging of ancient right, to St. Peter, and by virtue of that right granted territories in Spain, retaken from the Moors, to be held on a rent payable to the Holy See; and made similar pretensions to the kingdom of Hungary.

Pope Adrian IV. granted to Henry II. king of England, the crown of Ireland; on the ground that *all islands were the exclusive property of St. Peter.*

Innocent III. "announced himself as the *general arbiter of differences, and conservator of the peace*, throughout Christendom;" and in exercise of the office, issued his *mandates*, on pain of excommunication and deposition, to *almost all the kings* of his time, and generally with prompt obedience on their part. It was he who obtained from the feeble John, king of England, the surrender of his crown, to be returned to him *as in vassalage to the Pope*, on the payment of an annual tribute of a thousand marks: which payment *was made*, though irregularly, by John, Henry III. and Edward I.; but was at last refused, when demanded, in the reign of Edward III. A. D. 1365.

Martin IV. *absolved the subjects* of Peter, king of Arragon, *from their allegiance*, and *transferred his crown* to a prince of France; though without effect.

Boniface VIII. with equally futile results, *claimed the crown* of Scotland as belonging to him as *paramount lord*; and commanded Edward I. of England to desist from his attempts upon that kingdom.

These instances (gathered from the learned and judicious disquisition on Ecclesiastical Power in HALLAM's *History of the Middle Ages*) are only *some* of the number that might be adduced in confirmation of JEWELL's assertions in the text. They are, however, abundantly sufficient to bear out all his statements, and justify his strongest language.]

⁵ CLEMENS V. in *Concilio Viennensi*. [The Council of Vienne was held in 1311.

The Papal power had been at its extreme height during the pontificate of Boniface VIII. who died in 1303. From that time it began, not without many ineffectual struggles for its maintenance by its possessors, sensibly to wane. HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, Vol. II. p. 449, 469. *2d. ed.* Philad. 1824.]

greediness of rule, he hath pulled in pieces the empire of Rome, and vexed and rent whole Christendom asunder.^a

Falsely and traitorously also did he release the Romans, the Italians, and himself too, of the oath whereby they and he were straitly bound to be true to the Emperor of Greece, and stirred up the same emperor's subjects to forsake him; and calling *Charlemagne* out of France into Italy, made him emperor: ¹ such a thing as was never seen before. He put *Childeric* the French king, being no evil prince, beside his realm, only because he fancied him not; ^k and wrongfully placed *Pepin* in

^a ["Notwithstanding, the Pope himself by this bargain lost nothing. Thereof *MARSILIUS PATAVINUS* writeth thus: *Pepin*, son to *Charles* the French king, after he had conquered *Aristolphus* the king of Lombardy, took *Ravenna*, and all the fine cities of *Romondiola*, together with the emperor's lieutenants' territory, called the *Exarchate*, and gave all the same to the Pope. Pope *Stephen* finding himself well contented with these benefits, and seeing the weakness of the Greek emperor, procured that the empire should be translated from the Greeks unto the French, having utterly forgotten the benefits that he had received of the emperor; to the intent, that the Greeks being utterly oppressed, and the French little caring for these things, he alone might rule in Italy at his pleasure."—*Defence*, p. 370.]

¹ ["*Leo* the Third, being by violence deprived of his bishopric in Rome, fled for aid to *Charles* the French king, and by him was restored. In consideration of which benefit, he proclaimed *Charles* the Emperor of the West."—*Defence*, p. 170.]

On Christmas day, in the year 800, *Charles* was named Emperor by acclamation of the assembled clergy and people of Rome, and as their representative, the Pope crowned him with the iron crown. In this act, there does not appear to have been any assumption of temporal power, as the Pope was merely an instrument. The imperial power was already possessed by *Charlemagne*; the name of Emperor, it was fancied, must be derived from the Roman people; and as the organ of the degraded mob who then bore that character, the Pope presented his benefactor, who had just before restored him to his dignities, with the symbol of empire.]

^k ["The truth of the story is this: forasmuch as *Chilperic* [or *Childeric*] the king seemed void of princely gravity, and had given himself over to pleasure and wantonness, and *Pepin* his Lord Marshal [*Mayor*, or *Master*, of the Palace, was his title] a man full of wisdom and activity, had the government and burthen of all the realm, the nobles of France, having agreed among themselves to depose the one and to set up the other, sent unto Pope *Zachary* as unto a wise man, to have his answer to this question, Whether were meet to be king, he that carried only the name, and did nothing; or he that bore the burthen of the whole? The Pope was soon persuaded to give sentence with *Pepin* the Lord Marshal, against the king. Whereupon the king was shorn into an abbey, and made a monk; *Pepin*, advanced unto the state,

his room. Again, after he had cast out king *Philip*, if he could have brought it to pass, he had determined and appointed the kingdom of France to *Albert*, the king of the Romans.¹ He utterly destroyed the state of the most flourishing city and commonwealth of Florence, his own native country, and brought it out of a free and peaceable state, to be governed at the pleasure of one man.² He brought to pass, by his procurement, that whole Savoy on the one side was miserably spoiled by the emperor Charles the Fifth, and on the other side by the French king, so that the poor unfortunate duke had scant one city left him to hide his head in.³

gave the Pope the *Exarchate* or principality of Ravenna, in part recompense for his good will.—Whether the king, having nine years ruled his realm, were afterward deprived by right, or not, I will not reason.” *Defence*, p. 371.

This was in 750. “It is impossible,” says HALLAM, (*Middle Ages*, I. 422.) “to consider this in any other light than as a point of casuistry laid before the first religious judge in the Church. Certainly the Franks who raised the king of their choice upon their shields, never dreamed that a foreign priest had conferred upon him the right of governing. Yet it was easy for succeeding advocates of Rome to construe this transaction very favourably for its usurpation over the thrones of the earth.” And in a note he adds: “EGINHARD says, that Pepin was made king ‘per auctoritatem Romani pontificis’—an ambiguous word, which may rise to command, or sink to advice, according to the disposition of the interpreter.”—To fix it at the middle height of consent would be wisest, and most conformable to fact. Such is the opinion of the judicious historian Velly; *Histoire de France*, Tom. I. p. 350. Such, too, is the construction put upon the transaction by a Romish author quoted by JEWELL, *Defence*, p. 371. “Glossa ordinaria exponit, Deposuit, id est, deponentibus consensit.” “The ordinary Gloss (on the Canon Law) expounds it thus, He deposed him, that is, he consented to them that did depose him.” JOH. DE PARISIIS, cap. xv.]

¹ [It was *Boniface the Eighth*, who thus treated *Philip the Fair* of France. After having declared, in a constitution published in a council held at Rome, that “the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power,” and that ‘the subjection of every human creature to the Roman pontiff is a necessary article of faith,’ he at last excommunicated the king of France, and offered his crown to Albert I. of Austria. The arrest of the Pope by a civil faction in Italy, at the instigation of Philip, put an end to the contest, by causing his death—the effect of his violent rage.—These events took place in 1302–3.]

² [*Clement the Seventh*, known before his elevation to the Papacy as the Cardinal Julio de Medici, was cousin of Leo the Tenth, and succeeded Adrian VI. in the pontificate, in 1523. With the concurrence of the emperor and the king of France, he took advantage of civil dissensions raging in Florence, and made Alessandro de Medici, reputed to be his own son, Duke of that city, in 1532.]

³ [This was the act of the same Pope, Clement VII. See Note ², above.]

We are accloyed [satiated] with examples in this behalf, and it should be very tedious to reckon up all the notorious practices^o of the Bishops of Rome. But of which side were they, I beseech you, that poisoned the emperor Henry the Seventh, even in the receiving of the sacrament?^p Which poisoned Victor the Pope,^q even in the receiving of the chalice?^r Which poisoned our king John, of England, in a drinking cup?^s—Who-soever at least they were, and of what sect soever, I am sure they were neither Lutherans, nor Zuinglians. Who is he at this day which alloweth the mightiest kings and monarchs of the world to *kiss his blessed feet*?^t Who is he that commandeth the emperor to go

* [The word *practices* was taken in an ill sense when JEWELL wrote, and used to signify 'secret villanies.']

† [Henry VII. had undertaken a war against the king of Naples, in opposition to the injunctions of Pope Clement V. and was carrying it on successfully, when he died suddenly at Buonconvento, in 1313. A Dominican friar, Bernard of Montepulciano, was accused of poisoning him in the administration of the Eucharist, and such height did these suspicions attain that the General of the Order found it necessary to obtain a justificatory document from the son of Henry, thirty years after the death of the emperor. JEWELL quotes several authorities of middling value, in proof of the truth of the story; *Defence*, p. 374.]

‡ [Victor III. succeeded Gregory VII. in the Papacy, in 1085, and died in October, 1087. The Romish historians confess the mode of his death, and ascribe it to the instigation of the emperor Henry IV. BERTI, *Hist. Eccl. Brev.* Tom. II. p. 11.—JEWELL (*Defence*, p. 374.) quotes several writers of the middle ages as proofs.]

§ [Chalice: the cup of consecrated wine, in the administration of the Eucharist.]

¶ [Of this statement, JEWELL afterward declared: "Touching the death of John, whether he were poisoned by a monk, or no, I will not strive; referring myself therein to the credit of our chronicles: the common report whereof, together with the general opinion of the people, is this, that he was destroyed with poison."—*Defence*, p. 374.]

‡ [“In the Pope's own book of the Ceremonies of Rome, it is written thus: ‘Electus imperator cum suis omnibus,’ &c. ‘The emperor elect, going in array with all his train, passeth up the steps upon the scaffold. And as soon as he seeth the Pope, he worshippeth [*Lat.* veneratur, *doth reverence*] him with bare head, touching the ground with his knee; and again when he approacheth the foot of the Pope's throne, he kneeleth down. Last of all, when he cometh unto the Pope's feet, he kisseth them devoutly, in reverence of our Saviour.’ *Ceremoniar.* Lib. I. Sect. v. c. 3.) This is ordered as a special ceremony, and appointed unto the emperor as a part of his duty.

“Likewise it is written of the empress, as concerning her duty: ‘Imperatrix coronata, mox osculatur pedem pontificis.’ ‘The empress being crowned, immediately kisseth the Pope's foot.’ (*Ibid.* c. 6.)

by him *at his horse's bridle*, and the French king *to hold his stirrup?*" Who hurled under his table Francis Dandolo, the Duke of Venice, king of Crete and Cyprus, fast bound with chains, to feed of bones among his dogs?

"Again, of the Pope himself it is written: '*Papa nemini omnino mortalium*,' &c. 'The Pope himself does reverence to no mortal, either openly by standing up, or by bending, or uncovering his head.' (*Ceremoniar. Lib. III. c. 5.*)"—*Defence*, p. 375.]

¶ ["In the Pope's own Book of Holy Ceremonies it is particularly appointed, and laid out in order, to avoid confusion, what each estate ought and is bound to do.

"Thus therefore it is appointed: '*Cum Papa per scalam*,' &c. 'When the Pope ascendeth his steps to mount on horseback, *the greatest prince that is present, whether he be king or emperor, holdeth his stirrup*: and afterward *leadeth his horse* a little way forward by the bridle. But if there were *two kings* in presence, the *more honourable* of them should *hold the bridle of the right side, and the other of the left*. If there happen to be no king present, then let the *worthiest persons lead his horse*. But if the Pope would not ride, but be borne on *men's shoulders* in a chair, then must *four of the worthiest princes, yea the emperor himself, or any other mighty monarch*, if he be present, *bear the chair, Pope and all*, a little way forward upon their shoulders.'—'*The most noble layman—shall bear up the train of the Pope's cope, yea, though it be an emperor or king*.'—'Let the most noble layman, whether he be *king or emperor, bring water* to wash the Pope's hands. And while the Pope washeth, let all the bishops and laymen *kneel down*.'—'While the Pope is yet sitting at table, the *noblest man within the court, be he emperor, be he king*, shall be brought—to *give him water*.'—'The *first dish the noblest prince shall carry*, whether he be *emperor or king*.'—'When the Pope is at breakfast, the *king shall bear his first cup*.'" The references for all these passages, and most of them at length, are given by JEWELL. He continues: "For excuse hereof perhaps ye will say, These were the abuses of old times. Therefore it may please you to remember, that the self-same ceremonies, touching kings' and emperors' duties, have been lately renewed and confirmed, and published abroad into the world, word for word as they were before, without any manner of alteration; and that in the Pope's own *Pontifical*, now newly printed at Venice, in the year of our LORD 1561."—The modern reader, calling to mind the events of the pontificate of Pius VI. and the present state of the Romish court, may be tempted to join in the prophet's exclamation, "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning!"

As to the *practice* under such rules—Pope Adrian IV. contested the matter with the emperor Frederic I. The latter refused to hold the stirrup: the Pope, in consequence, denied his kiss of peace; and finally, the emperor was fain to end the contest by submission.]

¶ ["The Venetians had given aid, to restore one Friscus, a banished man, unto the dukedom of Ferrara. Therefore Pope Clement V. interdicted them, and all that they had, and further signified his pleasure unto all the world, that whithersoever they, or any of them, came, it should be lawful for any man, not only to take their bodies, and to sell

Who set the imperial crown upon the emperor Henry the Sixth's head, not with his hand, but with his foot : and with the same foot again cast the same crown off, saying : " I have power to make emperors, and to unmake them again at my pleasure ? " * Who put in

them for slaves, and to spoil their goods, but also to kill them, whether it were by right or by wrong. For so SABELLICUS writeth, ' Ut eos fas esset unicuique jure, et injuriâ, interficere.' (*Ennead.* ix. Lib. 7.) And this high indignation had never been slack'd, had not so noble a person abased himself to be tied by the neck in a chain, and to creep under the Pope's table upon all four like a dog. This disdainful fact, SABELLICUS the author reproveth vehemently and with many words, as immoderate tyranny and intolerable pride, and most shameful abusing of the state of princes."—*Defence*, p. 379.

With the account in the text, HARDING, JEWELL'S opponent, has many faults to find. 1. Dandolo was not Duke (or Doge) of Venice at the time. 2. He was not bound, but put on the chain himself. 3. There is no evidence either that he gnawed bones, or that there were dogs under the table !

To the *first* count, JEWELL makes answer that Dandolo was *not then* Doge, but was *elected shortly after* ; and justifies the use of the title by anticipation, by the example of several approved writers. At all events, he was a noble, and the ambassador of his Republic.

To the *second*, he says : " No doubt, whoso knoweth an Italian courage, will soon believe that Francis Dandolo, a gentleman of such nobility, and the ambassador of so noble a commonwealth, was soon, and easily, and willingly, won to come creeping with an iron chain on his neck, and to wallow under the Pope's table as a dog, to his own immortal shame, and to the everlasting dishonour of his country ! Verily he would never have yielded himself to such villany, had it not been to avoid some other greater villany. For I beseech you, whether is it more cruelty, for you to run upon a poor man with sword drawn, and to strike him through, and so to kill him ; or else to force him to lay cruel hands upon his own body, and to kill himself ? In whether of these two acts is more cruelty ?—So say we, it was far greater grief unto that noble gentleman so vilely to dishonour and abase himself, than if he had been driven thereto by the force and violence of his enemy."

To the *third*, he replies ; as to the bones, " we will rather say, he lay there to gather up the crumbs that fell from his lord's table : " as to the dogs, " the negative were very hard to prove. Howbeit, hereat I will not greatly strive. And yet it had been a more seemly sight, in my judgment, to see a dog lying there, than a man, and specially a noble gentleman, the ambassador of so noble a city."—*Defence*, p. 379, 380.

These circumstances are in themselves trifling : but trifles as they are, they shed a fearful light on the unearthly arrogance which created them.)

* [Henry VI. son of Frederic Barbarossa, was crowned at Rome by Celestine III. in 1191 ; having been compelled previously to resign the district of Tusculum, which he claimed, to the Holy See. " The

arms Henry, the son, against his father the emperor Henry the Fourth, and wrought so, that the father was taken prisoner of his own son, and being shorn,* and shamefully handled, was thrust into a monastery, where with hunger and sorrow he pined away to death? Who so ill-favouredly and monstrously put the emperor Frederic's neck under his feet, and, as though that were not sufficient, added further this text out of the Psalms: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet?"

story" related in the text, says JEWELL, "is recorded by RANULPHUS, ROGER CESTRENSIS, and ROGER HOVEDEN, that lived at the same time." *Defence*, p. 381.]

* [Receiving the tonsure—having a circular spot, or ring (for the rule is different in different monastic orders) shaven, on the crown of the head. This is considered as the first preparative for orders, and the lowest degree of assumption of the sacerdotal character and obligations, by the Church of Rome. According to the opinions of the times, it for ever incapacitated the emperor for his secular dignity.]

† [Henry IV. had been for many years involved in quarrels with successive Roman Pontiffs, by which he had more than once been reduced to the very verge of ruin. (See Note †, p. 101.) At last Paschal II. absolved the emperor's son Henry from an oath which he had taken not to attempt his father's throne during his life. On the pretext that Henry IV. being under sentence of excommunication, was incapable of reigning, the Papal legate engaged the clergy and many discontented nobles in the son's behalf. The most touching letters were addressed by the father to his rebellious son, but received for answer that he knew not an excommunicated man either as father or as emperor. Seduced by false promises of obedience from his son, and of absolution from the clergy, the old emperor disbanded his forces, and attended a diet at Mentz. Having thus got him in their power, "the bishops" (JEWELL shall continue the narrative) "disrobed him of his weeds of state, and pulled the crown imperial from his head. The ancient reverend prince, having now continued in his empire fifty whole years, bare all these things quietly, and said unto them: 'Videat DEUS, et judicet.' 'Let God see, and judge.' At the last, being left naked and out of all, he turned himself to the Bishop of Spire, and said unto him, 'Now I beseech you, for God's sake give me a prebend in your church. For I am able to read, and can do some good in the choir.' But he was kept still in close prison at Liege, until he died. And being dead, he was kept five whole years together above ground, at the Pope's commandment, and might not be buried." *Defence*, p. 382 s.]

Such was the Papal policy in the beginning of the twelfth century. JEWELL's authorities are: *Chron. Ursperg.* p. 235: SABELLICUS, *Ennead. ix. Lib. 3*; CARION; HELMOLD. His statement agrees with that of PREFFEL, *Histoire d'Allemagne*, Tom. I. p. 225 s.]

‡ Ps. xci. 13.—["The whole story hereof is thus reported by CARION: 'Usus est Fredericus,' &c. 'The emperor Frederic used all manner of submission and humility. For he came to Venice, and at the gates of

Such an example of scorning and contemning the majesty of a prince, as never before that time was heard tell of in any remembrance ; except, I ween, either of Tamerlane the king of Scythia,^a a wild and barbarous creature, or else of Sapor king of Persia.^b—All these, notwithstanding, were *Popes* ; all *Peter's successors* ; all *Most Holy Fathers* ; whose several words we must take to be as good as several gospels.^c

the church falling down, grovelling before the Pope, he suffered himself to be trodden on by the Pope with his feet. In the mean while the Pope caused proclamation to be made by these words of the prophet David, spoken of CHRIST : 'Thou shalt tread,' &c. And so at last he absolved him. The emperor in the mean while said, He showed that humility, not unto Pope Alexander, but to Peter. Thereunto the Pope answered, 'Et mihi, et Petro,' *Both to me, and to Peter* : placing himself before Peter.'

"Thus CARION declareth the whole story, with some particular circumstances : but whether of favour, or hatred, I will not judge.—But I think that the noble city of Venice, that caused this whole tragedy to be set forth in imagery, in St. Mark's Church, there, for the everlasting remembrance of the fact, (*Pompeius Latus*,) was not so carried away, either with love of the one side, or with hatred of the other, that they would so openly have recorded a known untruth." *Defence*, p. 384.

The place of this interview was St. Mark's Church, Venice ; the date, July 24, 1177 ; the emperor was Frederic II. ; the Pope, Alexander III.—The story has been called in question, on account of the silence of some historians. But this is not sufficient ground to set aside the positive testimony of others, corroborated by the painting in St. Mark's, and by a letter of Alexander himself, who says of the emperor, "being arrived at Venice, he gave us the marks of his obedience, with all manner of humility, at the entrance of St. Mark's Church, in the presence of an innumerable multitude of people."

^a [The story of Tamerlane, (or Timour Beg,) the Khan of the Tartars, and his confinement of the Sultan Bajazet in an iron cage, so long believed, but now esteemed of very dubious authority, is too well known to need repetition.]

^b ["Sapor, the proud king of Persia, when he had conquered Valerian the Roman emperor, and taken him prisoner, used him afterward most villainously, as his foot-stock : and made him lie down grovelling upon the ground, that he might set his foot on his neck whensoever it should please him to mount on horseback." *JEWELL, Defence*, p. 384.]

^c ["ANTONINUS [Archbishop of Florence in 1446 ; canonized by the Romish Church] saith : 'Non minor honor,' &c. 'There is no less honour due unto the Pope, than unto the angels of God. Therefore the Pope suffereth the faithful to worship him, and to fall down before him, and to kiss his feet ; which things the angel of God would not suffer St. John the Evangelist to do unto him.' (*Summa Theol. Par. III. Tit. 22. cap. v. § 4.*)"—*Defence*, p. 375.

Such are the honours to which, in the estimation of the Church of Rome, the office entitles the person of its head. Nor is the unworthi-

Sect. 10. If we be counted traitors, which do honour our princes, which give them all obedience, as much as is due them by God's word, and do pray for them: what kind of men then be *these*, which have not only done all the things before said, but also allow the same for specially well done? Do they then either this way instruct the people, as we do, to reverence their magistrate? Or can they with honesty appeach us, as seditious persons, breakers of the common quiet, and despisers of princes' majesty?

Truly we neither put off the yoke of obedience from us: neither do we disorder realms: nor do we set up, or pull down kings: nor give we our kings poison to drink: nor yet hold forth to them our feet to-kiss: nor opprobriously triumph over them: nor leap into their necks with our feet.

This rather is our profession; this is our doctrine: that every soul, of what calling soever it be—be it *monk*, be it *preacher*, be it *prophet*, be it *Apostle*—ought to be subject to kings and magistrates:^d yea, and that the Bishop of Rome himself, unless he will seem greater than evangelists—than the prophets, or the apostles, ought both to acknowledge, and to call the emperor his 'lord and master,' as the old bishops of Rome, who lived in times of more grace, ever did.^e Our common teaching also is, that we ought so to obey princes, as men sent of God: and that "whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God."^f This is our doctrine; and this is well to be seen, both in our books and preachings, and also in the manners and modest behaviour of our people.

ness of that *person* allowed to derogate in the least from these claims of *office*. In a recognized authority, the *Gloss* upon the *Canon Law*, the principle is explicitly laid down: 'Papa de homicidio vel adulterio accusari non potest. Unde sacrilegii instar esset, disputare de facto suo.' 'The Pope cannot be accused of murder or adultery. Whence it would be equal to sacrilege, to dispute of his doings.' *Dist. 40. Non nos, in Glossa*.—How thoroughly this rule has been acted on, any acquaintance with the lives of the Popes will prove.]

^d CHRYSOSTOM in 13 *Cap. ad Romanos*.

^e Thus GREGORY addresses Maurice the emperor: *Epist. 100. Lib. II.; Epist. 103. Lib. II.*, and often elsewhere.

^f Rom. xiii. 2.

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Sect. 1. But whe
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the common people, an
ear only to things true and of
such things also, if any chance, which may
have but a resemblance of truth. Therefore we see,
that subtle and crafty persons, when they had no truth
on their side, have ever contended and hotly argued
with things likely to be true, to the intent they which
were not able to espy the very ground of the matter
might be carried away at least with some pretence and
probability or likelihood of the truth.

In times past, whereas the first Christians, our fore-
fathers, in making their prayers to God, did turn them-
selves towards the East, as for the most part the manner
was, there were that said, 'they worshipped the sun,
and reckoned the same as their God.'^a Again, where
our forefathers said, that as touching immortal and ever-
lasting life, they lived by none other means but by 'the
flesh and blood' of the 'Lamb without spot,' that is to
say, of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST; the envious crea-
tures, and enemies of CHRIST's cross, whose only care
was to bring Christian religion into slander by all man-
ner of ways, made the people believe, that they were
wicked persons; that they sacrificed men's flesh, and
drank men's blood.^b Also where our forefathers said,
that before God there is "neither male nor female,"^c
and that for attaining to the true righteousness there is

^a "Solem credunt deum nostrum.—Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari." TERTULLIAN. *Apologet.* c. xvi.

^b TERTULLIAN. *Apologet.* c. vii. viii. ix. [The calumny is there stated and refuted at length; yet without assigning the ground of its origin.]

^c Gal. iii. 28.

at all of persons;^k and whereas they Sect. 10. another indifferently by the name of 'sisters' our princes;^l there wanted not men with forged false is due than the same, saying, that the Christians made no kind office among themselves, either of age or of kind, the like brute beasts, without regard had to do one with another.^m And whereas to pray together, and to hear the gospel, they met often in secret and by-places; because rebels sometime were wont to do the like, therefore rumours were every where spread abroad, that they made privy confederacies, and took counsel together, either to kill the magistrates, or to subvert the commonwealth.ⁿ And whereas in celebrating the holy mysteries after CHRIST's institution, they took bread and wine; they were therefore thought of many to worship, not CHRIST, or God, but Bacchus and Ceres,^o forsomuch as those vain gods were worshipped of the heathens in like sort, after a profane superstition, with bread and wine.—These things were believed of many, not because they were true indeed, (for what could be more untrue?) but because they were like to be true, and through a certain shadow of truth might the more easily deceive the simple. On this fashion likewise, do these men slander us, as heretics, and say that 'we have left the Church and fellowship of CHRIST: not because they think it is true, for they do not much force of that; but because to ignorant folk it might perhaps some way appear true.

Sect. 2. We have, indeed, put ourselves apart, not, as heretics are wont, from the Church of CHRIST; but, as all good men ought to do, from the infection of naughty persons and hypocrites. Nevertheless, in this point they triumph marvellously—that *they be the Church*; that *their Church is CHRIST's spouse, the pillar of the*

^k Col. iii. 10, 11.

^l ["Sic nos, quod invidetis, fratres vocamus, ut unius DEI parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei cohæredes." MINUCIUS FELIX, *Octavia*, p. 313. ed. Ouzelii.—TERTULL. *Apologet.* c. xxxix. med.]

^m TERTULL. *Apologet.* cap. vii. viii.

ⁿ "Illis nomen factionis accommodandum est: qui in odium bonorum et proborum conspirant, qui adversum sanguinem innocentium conclamant." TERTULLIAN. *Apologet.* c. xl.

^o AUGUSTINUS *contra Faustum*. Lib. xx, cap. 13.

truth, the ark of Noah ; and that without it there is no hope of salvation. Contrarywise, they say that we be renegates ; that we have torn CHRIST's seat ; that we are plucked quite off from the body of CHRIST, and have forsaken the Catholic faith. And when they leave nothing unspoken, that may never so falsely and maliciously be said against us, yet this one thing are they never able truly to say, that we have swerved, either from the word of God, or from the Apostles of CHRIST, or from the primitive Church.

Surely we have ever judged the primitive Church of CHRIST's time, of the Apostles', and of the holy fathers', to be the *Catholic Church* : neither make we doubt to name it 'Noah's ark,'^p 'CHRIST's spouse,'^q 'the pillar and upholder of all truth ;'^r nor yet to fix therein the whole mean of our salvation.* It is doubtless an odious matter for one to leave the fellowship whereunto he hath been accustomed, and specially of those men, who though they be not, yet at least seem to be, and be called Christians. And to say truly, we do not despise the Church of these men, (howsoever it be ordered by them now-a-days,) partly for the name's sake itself, and partly for that the gospel of JESUS CHRIST hath once been therein truly and purely set forth. Neither had we departed therefrom, but of very necessity, and much against our wills.^t

^p [This figurative epithet (in very common use among the fathers) is drawn from the comparison in 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. Compare the first prayer in the Baptismal Service.]

^q Eph. v. 23—32. Rev. xxi. 9 ss.

^r 1 Tim. iii. 15.

* [For this strong expression, if taken in its fullest sense, it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to find any sufficient Scripture warrant. Doubtless JEWELL merely intended to convey the idea, that the whole of the appointed means for the securement of salvation were comprised in the Church of CHRIST—without excluding, or having reference at all to the extraordinary operations of Divine mercy, or permissive dispensations of the Divine will.]

^t ["We despise not the Church : it is the house of God. But we mislike your defacing and disordering of the Church. CHRIST reproveth the priests and Pharisees, for they had turned 'the temple of God into a den of thieves.' and yet nevertheless he despised it not ; but said it was 'his Father's house.' (Matth. xxi. 12. John ii. 16.) To leave the wicked fellowship of them that bear a name and show of godliness, it seemeth odious before men : but before God it is not odious. St. John saith, 'Whoever is such an one, bid him not God speed : for he that

Sect. 3. But I put case an idol be set up in the Church of God, and the same desolation, which CHRIST prophesied to come, stood openly in the holy place.* What if some thief or pirate invade and possess Noah's ark?† These folks, as often as they tell us of the Church, mean thereby themselves alone, and attribute all these titles to their own selves, boasting as they did in times past, that cried out "The temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD:"‡ or as the Pharisees and Scribes did, which craked [boasted] they were "Abraham's children."§

Thus with a gay and jolly¶ show deceive they the simple, and seek to choke us with the bare name of *the Church*. Much like as if a thief, when he hath gotten into another man's house, and by violence either hath thrust out, or slain the owner, should afterward assign the same house to himself, casting forth of possession the right inheritor: or if Antichrist,§ when he had once

biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.' (2 John, 10, 11.) St. Paul saith, 'I have written unto you not to keep company—with such, no, not to eat.' (1 Cor. v. 11.) And God himself saith, 'Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' (Rev. xviii. 4.)"—*Defence*, p. 391.]

* Matt. xxiv. 15. [JEWELL's reference, if confined to the import of this passage, must be taken as a mere hypothesis: for it hardly admits of question, that our LORD's prediction referred to the presence of the Roman eagles, (at once their military standards, and the objects of their idolatrous worship,) in the sacred precincts of Jerusalem. See Luke xxi. 20; and Bp. PORTEUS' *Lectures on Matthew*, Lect. xix.]

† ["This 'put case' and 'what if' are not so impossible. For St. Paul saith Antichrist [so JEWELL interprets what is in our version '*the man of sin*,'] shall 'sit in the temple of God, and show himself above all that is worshipped, or called GOD:' [a reference to the passage, 2 Thess. ii. 4. will show that JEWELL quotes loosely, probably from memory:—that is to say, being a thief and a pirate, he shall enter perforce into Noah's ark."—*Defence*, p. 393.]

‡ Jer. vii. 4.

§ John viii. 39.

¶ ['Jolly' is here used in the obsolete sense of 'handsome'—'specious in appearance'—a sense nearly corresponding with that of the French word *joli*.]

* ["I will not say, *the Pope is Antichrist*. God will reveal him in his time, and he shall be known. St. John saith, (Rev. xiii. 18.) 'This is the wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is, Six hundred threescore and six.' Upon which IRENÆUS, well near fifteen hundred years ago, [in 1566; of course, now more than *seventeen*,] saith thus: 'The name of Antichrist, expressed by the number, shall

entered into the temple of God, should afterward say, This house is mine own, and CHRIST hath nothing to do withal. For these men now, after they have left nothing remaining in the Church of God that hath any likeness of his Church, yet will they seem the patrons and the valiant maintainers of *the Church*. Verily like as Gracchus among the Romans stood sometime in defence of the treasury, notwithstanding with his prodigality and fond expenses he had utterly wasted the whole stock of the treasury. And yet was there never any thing so wicked, or so far out of reason, but lightly it might be covered and defended by the name of *the Church*: for

be LATINUS.* And he addeth further: 'Hoc valde verisimile est: quoniam verissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum.' 'This is very probable: since that word most certainly is the name of a kingdom.' (*Adv. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ult.*)

"St. GREGORY [GREGORY the First] saith: 'He is Antichrist, that shall claim to be called *Universal Bishop*; and shall have a guard of priests to attend upon him.' (*Epist. 34. Lib. iv.*) Again IRENEUS saith: 'Antichristus, cum sit servus, tamen adorari vult ut Deus.' 'Antichrist, notwithstanding he be but a *slave*, yet he will be worshipped as if he were God.' (*Adv. Hær. Lib. v. cap. penult.*) The Abbot JOACHIM 'Antichristus jampridem natus est Romæ, et altius extollitur in sede apostolica.' 'Antichrist is *long since born in Rome*, and yet shall be higher advanced in the apostolic see.†

"Thus is he described that shall sit in the place of CHRIST,‡ (*2 Thess. ii. 4.*) and shall maintain possession against CHRIST. But CHRIST shall come with his holy angels, and shall 'consume him with the breath of his mouth,' (*2 Thess. ii. 8.*) which is the holy word of the living God."—*Defence*, p. 393.

Although JEWELL does not, *himself*, decide whether the Pope be Antichrist, his quotations leave no difficulty in discovering his opinion.]

* [IRENEUS wrote in Greek. The Greek letters are used as numerals. Those composing the word *Λατίνος* (which is equivalent to *Latinus*, and means 'a Latin,' or 'Roman,') express, when added together, the number 666:—thus, λ, 30; α, 1; ρ, 400; ς, 5; ι, 10; ν, 50; ο, 70; ς, (or the *Sancti*) 100; total, 666.

The fathers have several such computations founded on the numerical value, or form, of letters. They are generally worthless; and, of course, rest on no stronger authority than that of their judgment as individuals. The reader must decide on the value of IRENEUS' computation for himself. In its favour may be urged: 1. That in the explanation of a prophetic symbol used by the *Apostle John in his old age*, the testimony of a disciple of Polycarp, the friend and scholar of St. John, may have some weight. 2. That the circumstances of Christianity at Rome in the days of IRENEUS can hardly be supposed to have suggested his view. 3. That the remarkable agreement of the Scriptural characteristics of Antichrist with the subsequent history of the *Latin Church*, must be allowed to be at least, a singular coincidence with IRENEUS' interpretation.]

† [The Abbot JOACHIM, a monk of the Cistercian order, famous for his sanctity and austerity, but not wholly orthodox, according to the views of the Church of Rome, flourished in the twelfth century. The corruptions of the Papacy were then at their height.]

‡ [The Roman Pontiff claims to be the *Vicar of CHRIST*.]

the wasps also make honeycombs, as well as the bees, although there be no honey in them; and wicked men have companies like to the Church of God.^a

Sect. 4. Yet for all that, they be not straightway the people of God, which are called the people of God; neither "are all Israel, which are of Israel" the father. The Arians, notwithstanding they were *heretics*, yet bragged they, that they alone were *the catholics*,^b calling all the rest, now 'Ambrosians,' now 'Athanasians,' now 'Johannites.'^c And Nestorius,^d as saith THEODORET, for all that he was a heretic, yet covered he himself τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας προσχήματι—that is to wit, 'with a certain cloak and colour of the true and right faith.' Ebion,^e though

^a Rev. ii. 9. iii. 9.

^b AUGUSTIN. *Serm. cont. Arianos.* Tom. VI. Opp.; et in *Epist. ad Vincent.*

^c [These terms are formed from the names of AMBROSE, Archbishop of Milan; of ATHANASius, Archbishop of Alexandria, the great champion of the doctrine of the Trinity; and of JOHN (CHRYSOSTOM) the Archbishop of Constantinople. By their use the Arians wished to intimate that those eminent supporters of the Trinitarian faith were the *founders*, or at least *establishers* of new opinions.]

^d [NESTORIUS was elevated from the station of presbyter in Antioch, to the bishopric of Constantinople, by the choice of the emperor Theodosius, in 429. A presbyter whom he had brought with him from Antioch, censured from the pulpit the practice of calling the Virgin Mary Θεοτοκος, or 'Mother of God.' This excited disturbance among the Constantinopolitans, who were accustomed to the expression, and regarded an attack upon it as an assault upon their faith. Nestorius was induced to defend his presbyter, and by degrees was led into incautious statements relative to the union of the divine and human natures in the SAVIOUR. He was considered as denying their junction in *one person*. The most violent heats were excited by the controversies which hence arose. The Council of Ephesus, convened in 431, after fierce disputes, condemned the opinion of Nestorius, and deposed him from his see. Their sentence was confirmed by the emperor, who banished the unhappy prelate. After four years exile, he died of a fall from his horse, in 439.]

^e [EBION is the reputed leader of a sect of Judaizing Christians, which arose in the second century. It is a matter of considerable doubt whether there ever did exist a man of that name: many having supposed, in the absence of all personal history of such a man, that the term *Ebionites* had some other derivation. This sect held the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic law; and while they received CHRIST as the Messiah, asserted him to be a mere man, the son of Joseph. They also admitted a portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew, although corrupted by large interpolations favourable to their own opinions.]

he agreed in opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as saith EPIPHANIUS,^f he would needs be called a Christian. The Mahometans at this day, for all that all histories make plain mention, and themselves also cannot deny but they took their first beginning of Agar the bond-woman, yet for the very name and stock's sake choose they rather to be called *Saracens*, as though they came of Sarah the free-woman, and Abraham's true and lawful wife.^g So likewise the false prophets of all ages, which stood up against the prophets of God, and resisted Isaiah, Jeremiah, CHRIST, and the Apostles, at no time craked [boasted] of any thing so much as they did of the name of *the Church*. And for none other cause did they so fiercely vex them, and call them 'renegates' and 'apostates,' than for that they had forsaken their fellowship, and kept not the ordinances of the elders.^h

Sect. 5. Wherefore, like as it is written that Hercules in old time was forced, in striving with Antæus that huge giant, to lift him quite up from the earth, that was his mother, ere he could conquer him; even so must our adversaries be heaved from their mother, that is, from this vain colour and shadow of 'the Church,' wherewith they so disguise and defend themselves: otherwise they cannot be brought to yield unto the word of God. And therefore saith Jeremiah the prophet, "Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, are these."—"Behold, ye trust in lying words,

^f *Lib. I. Hæres. 30.*

^g Τοῦτ' ὅν γὰρ τὸ φῶλον ἀπ' Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ἀβραὰμ παῖδός τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν, καὶ τὴν προσήγοράν εἶχε, καὶ Ἰσραηλῖτας αὐτοὺς δι' ἀρχαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάτερος ὠνόμασαν. Αποτριβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ νόθου τὸν ἑλεγχον, καὶ τῆς ἀγὰρ μητρὸς τὴν δυσγένειαν, δοῦλη γὰρ ἦν, σαββακηνοὺς σφᾶς ὠνόμασαν, ὡς ἀπὸ σάβρας τοῦ ἀβραὰμ γαμετῆς καταγομένους. SOZOMENI *Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. xxxviii.* [Other derivations of the name have been given;—from a village called *Soraka* among the Nabatæan Arabs—from an Arabic word signifying a *thievish* disposition—and from another implying an *eastern* residence. GIBSON, while his bigotted infidelity leads him to throw ridicule on the opinion of SOZOMEN, adopted by JEWELL, confesses each of the others to be liable to strong objections. Whoever takes into account the importance attached to genealogic traditions by the natives of the east, and the fact that to this day the Arabs glory in their descent from Abraham, will be in no haste to decide against the statement of SOZOMEN, though he have not given his authority.]

^h Matth. xv. 2 ss.

that cannot profit."ⁱ The angel also saith in the Apocalypse: "they say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan."^k And CHRIST said to the Pharisees, when they vaunted themselves of the kindred and blood of Abraham: "Ye are of your father the devil," for you resemble not your father Abraham.^l As much as to say, Ye are not the men ye would so fain be called: ye beguile the people with vain titles, and abuse the name of the Church, to the overthrowing of the Church.

So that these men's parts had been, first to have clearly and truly proved that the Romish Church is the true and right instructed *Church of God*; and that the same, as they do order it at this day, doth agree with the primitive Church of CHRIST, of the Apostles, and of the holy fathers, which we doubt not but was indeed the true catholic Church.

For our parts, if we could have judged *ignorance*^m—*error*—*superstition*—*idolatry*ⁿ—*men's inventions*, and the same commonly disagreeing with the holy Scrip-

ⁱ Jer. vii. 4, 8.

^k Rev. ii. 9. [This is another instance of quotations made by JEWELL from memory, and incorrectly. It was not an *angel*, but CHRIST, who spake these words to the *angel* of the Church of Smyrna.]

^l John viii. 44, 39.

^m ["That by your [HARDING's, as a Papist] doctrine, *Ignorance highly pleaseth God, and is sufficient to salvation*, besides the general practice of your whole Church, ye may soon call to mind, that one of your dearest friends, in most honourable audience, not long since openly published the same, in the name and behoof of all his brethren, as a 'secret mystery,' and the very bottom of your divinity—'*Ignorance is the mother of devotion*.' You know, that Cardinal CUSANUS teacheth you, '*Obedientia irrationalis est consummata obedientia*,' &c. '*Obedience without reason* is the full and most perfect obedience; I mean, when a man is obedient to do whatsoever he is commanded without requiring of any reason, *even as a horse is obedient to his master*. Therefore if thou see thy bishop to refuse the communion of any man; refuse thou to communicate with the same.' (NICOL. CUSAN. *Excit.* Lib. vi. Ubi Eccles.) This, M. HARDING, is your doctrine of simple ignorance." *Defence*, p. 396.

The Cardinal's illustration will probably recall to the reader's mind another authority, in which it is written, '*Be ye not like unto horse and mule.*']

ⁿ ["Concerning superstition and idolatry, what need we many words? The thing itself is well able to prove itself. Whoso but looketh into your churches, may easily, not only see it with his eyes, but also feel it with his fingers." *Defence*, p. 396.]

tures—either to please God, or to be sufficient for the obtaining of everlasting salvation ; or if we could ascertain [assure] ourselves, that the word of God was written but for a time only, and afterward again ought to be abrogated and put away ;^o or else, that the sayings and commandments of God ought to be subject to man's will, that whatsoever God saith and commandeth, except the bishop of Rome will and command the same, it must be taken as void and unspoken :^p if we could have brought ourselves to believe these things, we grant there had been no cause at all, why we should have left these men's company.

Sect. 6. As touching that we have now done, to depart from that Church, whose errors were proved and made manifest to the world—which Church also had already evidently departed from God's word ;—and yet

• ["That God's holy word by your learning is mutable, and serveth only for a time, your own doctor Cardinal CUSANUS would soon have taught you. His words be these: 'Scripturæ adaptatæ sunt,' &c. 'The Scriptures are applied unto the time, and may have sundry understandings: so that at one time they may be expounded (one-way) according to the universal current order, (of the Church,) and that, the same order being broken, the meaning of the Scriptures may be changed.' (*ad Bohem. Ep. 2.*)"—*Defence*, p. 396.

NICOLAS, Cardinal of Cusa, quoted in this and the preceding note, flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century. His share in the proceedings of the Council of Basle recommended him to the favour of Pope Eugenius IV. and he enjoyed the uninterrupted patronage of several successive Pontiffs, whom he served, on many occasions, as *Legate*.]

^p ["That the Holy Scriptures of God by your divinity be not authentical, further than they be ratified by the Pope, ye might have learned of your SYLVESTER PRIERIAS, Master of the Pope's palace. Thus he writeth: 'A doctrina Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Romani Pontificis, sacra scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem.' 'The holy Scriptures derive strength and authority from the doctrine of the Roman Church, and of the Bishop of Rome.' Again he saith: 'Indulgentiæ auctoritate Scripturæ non innouere nobis: sed auctoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ major est.' 'Indulgences are not known to us by the authority of the Scriptures, but by the authority of the Roman Church and of the Bishops of Rome, which is greater.' (*Contr. Lutherum.*)"—*Defence*, p. 396.

SYLVESTER MOZOLINO, called PRIERIAS from the place of his nativity, was LUTHER's first antagonist. His writings prove him to have been a man of little learning or judgment, with bigotted devotion to the interests of the Pope, whose menial servant he was, by office. He died in 1523.]

not to depart so much from itself, as from the errors thereof; and not to do this disorderly, or wickedly, but quietly and soberly: we have done nothing herein against the doctrine, either of CHRIST, or of his Apostles.

For neither is the Church of God such, as it may not be dusked with some spot, or asketh not sometimes reparation. Else what need there so many assemblies and councils, "without the which," as saith *Ægidius*, "the Christian faith is not able to stand. For look," saith he, "how often councils are discontinued, so often is the Church destitute of CHRIST."^a Or, if there be no peril that harm may come to the Church, what need is there to retain, to no purpose, the *names of Bishops*? (For so it is now commonly used among them; the *names* only they bear, and *do* nothing.) For if there be no sheep that may stray, why be they called *Shepherds*? If there be no city that may be betrayed, why be they called *Watchmen*? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called *Pillars*?

^a 'Quoties concilia intermittuntur, toties Ecclesia a CHRISTO derelinquitur.' *Ægidius in Concil. Lateranens.* sub Julio II. [JEWELL adopts his sentiment, doubtless, as an *argumentum ad homines*—a sufficient proof to men of the same creed with *Ægidius*, who admitted his authority, that the Church *might* be in danger.—There are no traces of a similar extravagant opinion of the necessity of councils in JEWELL'S own writings.]

^r ["CHRIST himself, that best knew the reach and limits of his possession, saith thus: 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?' (*Luke xviii. 8.*) Whereupon AMBROSE saith: 'Tunc fides rara; ut ipse quasi addubitans Dominus ista dixerit.' 'Then shall faith be rare: so that our Lord himself spake these words as though he doubted.' And St. John in *Revelations* saith: 'The woman' (whereby is meant, not the Synagogue of the Jews, but the Church of CHRIST,) 'fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God,' (*Rev. xii. 6.*) by which words is meant, that in time of ignorance and persecution, the Church is without countenance, and unknown. St. Paul saith, before the day of the Lord come, there shall be 'a falling away.' (*2 Thess. ii. 3.*) By these it appeareth, the decay of the Church shall be universal: and that the remnants shall not be many. Therefore VINCENTIUS LIRINENSIS putteth the case on this wise: 'Quid si novella aliqua,' &c. 'What if some new corruption go about to invade, not only some portion of the Church, but also the whole universal Church altogether? Then must a Christian man set himself to cleave to antiquity.' That is to say, to follow the primitive Church and ancient fathers. This case would he never have moved, unless he thought the whole universal Church might happen by some error to be deceived.

"The Church of God is often compared to the moon, (*August.*

Sect. 7. Anon after the first creation of the world, the Church of God began to spread abroad, and the same was instructed with the heavenly word, which God himself pronounced with his own mouth. It was also furnished with divine ceremonies. It was taught by the SPIRIT OF GOD, by the patriarchs and prophets; and continued so even till the time that CHRIST showed himself to us in the flesh. Thus notwithstanding, O good God! in the meanwhile, how often, and how horribly, was the same Church darkened and decayed!

Where was that Church then, when "all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth?"* Where was it when, amongst the number of the whole world, there were only eight persons, (and neither were they *all* chaste and good,) whom God's will was should be saved alive from the universal destruction and mortality? When Elijah the prophet so bitterly made his moan, that 'he, even he only was left' of all the whole world, which did truly and duly worship God? And when Isaiah said, "the silver" of God's people (that is, of the Church) was "become dross;" and that the same 'city,' which aforetime had been 'faithful,' was now "become an harlot;" and that in the same "from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there was no soundness in it?"* Or else, when CHRIST himself said, that the house of God was made by the Pharisees and priests "a den of thieves?"* Of a truth, the Church, even as a corn-field, except it be eared, manured, tilled, and trimmed, will in stead of wheat bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. For this cause did God send ever among them, both prophets and apostles,* and last of all his own Son, who might bring home the people into the right way, and repair anew the tottering Church after she had erred.

Epist. 48.) which sometimes is full, and round, and bright, and glorious: sometimes is wholly shadowed and drowned in darkness: and yet, notwithstanding, is not consumed, but in substance remaineth still." *Defence*, p. 399, 400.]

* Gen. vi. 12.

* 1 Kings xix. 10.

* Isa. i. 22, 21, 6.

* Luke xxi. 46.

* [The word 'Apostles' (in the original Latin *Apostolus*) is here evidently used in its primitive, general signification—*messengers*.]

Sect. 8. But lest some man should say, that the fore-said things happened only in the time of the Law—of shadows, and of infancy, when the Church lay hid under figures and ceremonies, and when nothing as yet was brought to perfection—when the law was not graven in men's hearts, but in stone:^x—and yet were that but a foolish distinction, for even at those days there was the very same God that is now, the same SPIRIT, the same CHRIST, the same faith, the same doctrine, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same covenant, and the same efficacy and virtue of God's word; EUSEBIUS also saith "All the faithful, even from Adam until CHRIST, were indeed very Christians,"^y though they were not so termed:—but, as I said, lest men should thus say still, Paul the Apostle found the like faults and falls even then, in the prime and chief of the Gospel, in the greatest perfection, and in the light; so that he was compelled to write in this sort to the Galatians, whom he had well before instructed: "I am afraid of you," quoth he, "lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.—My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until CHRIST be formed in you—I stand in doubt of you."^z And as for the Church of the Corinthians, how foully it was defiled, it is nothing needful to rehearse. Now tell me, might the Galatians and Corinthians go amiss, and the Church of Rome may not fail, nor go amiss?^a

^x 2 Cor. iii. 3.

^y EUSEB. Lib. I. c. i. [probably of the *Demonstratio Evangelica*.]

^z Gal. iv. 11, 12, 19.

^a ["Your meaning—that albeit all other particular Churches throughout the world happen to err, yet the Church of Rome, that is to say, the Pope and his Cardinals, can never err—I trow ye learned of PETRUS DE PALUDE: for neither CHRIST, nor any of his Apostles, ever taught it you. This worthy doctor saith thus: 'Tota Ecclesia,' &c. 'The whole Church of Peter cannot wholly fail from the faith. But all the other Churches of all the Apostles may fail wholly from the faith, having need to be confirmed by the Church of Peter.' (*De Potestate Curator*. Art. 6.) And to this end you yourself call the Roman faith the Catholic faith, making no manner of difference between either other; as if Roman and Catholic were all one.

"Now, that the Church of Rome, which you call the Catholic Church, may err, and be forsaken of God, it is evident by the plain words of St. Paul. For thus he writeth, even unto the Church of Rome: 'If some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches. But if thou boast

Surely CHRIST prophesied long before of his Church, that the time should come when 'desolation' should 'stand in the holy place.'^b And St. Paul saith that Antichrist should once set up his own tabernacle and stately seat 'in the temple of God :'^c and that the time should be, "when men will not endure sound doctrine, but—shall be turned unto fables,"^d and that within the very Church. Peter likewise telleth how there should be "false teachers" in the Church of CHRIST.^e Daniel the prophet, speaking of the latter times of Antichrist—truth, saith he, in that season "shall be trodden under

(remember) thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, 'The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off; and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear: for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold, therefore, the goodness and severity of God; on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in goodness: otherwise thou also (being the Church of Rome) shalt be cut off.' (Rom. xi. 17—22.) Hereby it is plain, that the Church of Rome may fail and fall from God, no less than other like Churches. For otherwise this advertisement of St. Paul had been in vain.

"Therefore HORMISDAS, being himself the Bishop of Rome, [from 514 to 523] writeth thus: 'Dilectissimi Fratres, continuas,' &c. 'My dearly beloved brethren, let us pour forth continual prayers to God, and earnestly entreat, that both in profession, and in deed, we may cleave to him, whose members we desire to be, and may never by any crooked path turn from that way which is CHRIST; lest we' (being the Church of Rome) 'be justly forsaken of him whom wickedly we have forsaken.' (ad Episcopos Hispaniæ.) This would not the Pope himself have written in the behoof of the Church of Rome, if he had thought the same Church could never have erred." *Defence*, p. 401.]

^b Matth. xxiv. 14. [JEWELL considers this chapter as referring to the general judgment, and the verse cited, with similar passages, as applying to Antichrist. In the *Defence*, p. 402, he supports this application by the authorities of ORIGEN (in *Matth.* Tract. 26.); CHRYSOSTOM (in *Op. Imperfect.* Hom. 49.); GREGORY NAZIANZEN (*Signif. in Ezech.*); JEROME (in *Matth.* c. 24.); AMBROSE (in *Luc.* Lib. x. c. 21.); HILARY (in *Matth.* can. 25.); THEODORET (in *Daniel.* c. 12.); "besides others, the most ancient and catholic fathers," quoted by EUSEBIUS EMISSENUS, *Hom. in Matth.* 24.—The best modern divines consider the chapter as a mixed prophecy, relating principally to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity, but secondarily to the final judgment and second coming of CHRIST, of which the destruction of Jerusalem was typical. The reader is referred to NEWCOME'S *Observations on the Ministerial Character of our Lord*, p. 200. ss. and PORTEUS' *Lectures on St. Matthew's Gospel*, Lect. xix. xx.]

^c 2 Thess. ii. 4.

^d 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4.

^e 1 Pet. ii. 1.

foot" in the world.^f And CHRIST saith, the calamity and confusion of things shall be so exceeding great, that "if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived:"^g and that these things shall come to pass, not among the Gentiles and Turks, but even in the holy place, in the temple of God, in the Church, and in the company and fellowship of those which profess the name of CHRIST.

Sect. 9. Albeit these same warnings alone may suffice a wise man to take heed he do not suffer himself rashly to be deceived with the name of the Church; and not to stay, to make further inquisition thereof by God's word; yet beside all this, many fathers also, many learned and godly men, have often and carefully complained, how all these things have chanced in their life time. For even in the midst of that thick mist of darkness, God would yet there should be some, who though they gave not a clear and bright light, yet should kindle, were it but some spark, which men being in the darkness, might espy.

HILARY, when things as yet were almost uncorrupt, and in good case too: "Ye are ill deceived," saith he, "with the love of walls: ye do ill worship [honour] the Church: in that ye worship it in houses and buildings, ye do ill bring in the name of peace under roofs. Is there any doubt, but Antichrist will have his seat under the same? I rather reckon hills, woods, pools, marshes, prisons, and quagmires, to be places of more safety: for in these the prophets either abiding^h of their accord, or forced thither by violence, did prophesy by the SPIRIT of God."^h

^f [JEWELL, in his margin, refers to Daniel viii. He appears to quote v. 13: but if so, loosely, and with his own interpretation of "the sanctuary and host;" of which it is that Daniel says "they shall be trodden under foot," when the "transgression of desolation" takes place—plainly, one might suppose, referring to the destruction of the temple and the Jewish polity by the Romans.]

^g Matth. xxiv. 24.

^h "Male vos parietum amor coepit: male Ecclesiam DEI in tectis, ædificiisque veneramini: male sub his pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est; in his Antichristum esse assurum? Montes mihi, et sylva, et lacus, et carceres, et voragine, sunt tutiores; in illis enim propheta, aut manentes, aut demersi, DEI SPIRITU prophetabant." HILARIUS contra Arianism.

GREGORY, as one which perceived and foresaw in his mind the wreck of all things, wrote thus of John, Bishop of Constantinople, the first of all others that commanded himself to be called by this new name, *The Universal Bishop of CHRIST's whole Church*: "If the Church," saith he, "shall depend upon one man, it will soon fall down to the ground."¹—Who is he, that seeth not how this is come to pass long since? For long ago hath the Bishop of Rome willed to have *the whole Church* depend upon *himself alone*. Wherefore it is no marvel, though it be clean fallen down long ago.

BERNARD the Abbot, above four hundred years past, writeth thus: "Nothing is now sincere and pure amongst the clergy: wherefore it resteth that the Man of Sin should be revealed."²—The same BERNARD in his *Treatise of the Conversion of St. Paul*: "It seemeth now," saith he, "that persecution hath ceased: no, no, persecution seemeth but now to begin, and that even from them which have chief pre-eminence in the Church. Thy friends and neighbours, O God, have drawn near, and stood up against thee: from the sole of the foot, to the crown of the head, there is no part whole. Iniquity is proceeded from the elders, the judges and deputies, which pretend to rule thy people. We cannot say now, Look how the people is, so is the priest: for the people is not so ill as is the priest. Alas, alas, O LORD GOD, the self-same persons be the chief in persecuting thee, which seem to love the highest place, and bear most rule, in thy Church."³ The same BERNARD again, *Upon the Canticles*, writeth thus: "All they are thy friends; yet are they all thy foes: all thy kinsfolk; yet are they all thy adversaries. Being CHRIST's servants, they serve Antichrist. Behold in my rest, my bitterness is most bitter."^m

¹ "Si Ecclesia pendebit ab uno, tota corruiet." GREGOR. MAGN. *Ep. ad Maurit. Imp.* Lib. IV. Ep. 32.—"Universa Ecclesia a statu suo corruiet, quando is, qui appellatur *Universalis*, cadit." *Ep.* 76. Lib. IV.—"Si unus Episcopus vocatur *Universalis*, universa Ecclesia corruiet, si unus Universitas cadit." *Ep.* 188. Lib. VI.

² "Nihil jam integrum est in clero: superest ut reveletur homo peccati."

³ BERNARDI CLAREVALLENSIS *Serm.* 1 in *Cant. de Rapti.*

^m BERNARDI *Serm.* 33 in *Canticis.*

ROGER BACON also, a man of great fame, after he had in a vehement oration touched to the quick the woful state of his own time: "These so many errors," saith he, "require and look for Antichrist."^a GERSON complaineth that in his days all the substance and efficacy of sacred divinity was brought unto a glorious contention, [a contention for the sake of glory,] and ostentation of wits, and very sophistry.^o The poor men called *Pauperes a Lugduno*, [the poor men of Lyons,]^p men,

^a In *Libello de Idiomate Linguarum*.

[ROGER BACON, better known as *Friar Bacon*, was the wonder of his age for learning. His skill in natural philosophy and mechanics, far beyond that of his contemporaries, procured for him the reputation, and the punishment, of a magician; by his theological learning, he obtained from his contemporaries the title of the *Admirable doctor*; and to his attainments in philosophy and theology he added an acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages, in that age exceedingly rare. He flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century.]

^o [JOHN CHARLIER, surnamed GERSON, from the village in which he was born, was the greatest theologian of his age, and for strength of intellect, fervour of devotion, and fearlessness of zeal, inferior to none of any age. He was for many years Chancellor of the University of Paris, at that time one of the most important clerical dignities in France, or indeed in Europe. He attended the Councils held at Pisa in 1409 and at Constance in 1414, and exercised no small influence on their decisions, by his part in their debates, and especially by his writings. He was a firm and zealous opponent of the extravagant pretensions of the Popes, and did more than any other man towards procuring the decision of the Council of Constance, renewed in that of Basle, and subsequently adhered to by the whole Gallican Church, that the Pope is subject to a General Council.]

GERSON also distinguished himself by his strenuous opposition to the tenets of JOHN PETIT, a celebrated Parisian divine, who had maintained, in defence of the assassination of the Duke of Orleans by the Duke of Burgundy, that the murder of a political opponent is justifiable. This doctrine was condemned, at GERSON's suggestion, by the Council of Constance; and although the power of the Duke of Burgundy effected his expulsion from all his dignities, and put his life repeatedly in jeopardy, he ceased his opposition to it only with his life. He died in the humble situation of a schoolmaster, at an advanced age, in 1429.

The admirable practical treatise *On the Imitation of CHRIST*, commonly ascribed to *Thomas a Kempis*, has been claimed as the production of GERSON, with much show of reason. Many portions of his acknowledged productions are scarcely inferior in devotional feeling and practical utility.]

^p [This sect, one of the most eminent among the many which in the twelfth and following centuries prepared the way for the Reformation, had its origin in the pious zeal of a merchant of Lyons, in France, about the year 1160. From his surname VAUX, or VALDO, the followers whom he gradually acquired came to be known as *Valdenses* or *Wal-*

as touching the manner of their life, not to be disliked, were wont boldly to affirm, that the Romish Church (whence alone all counsel, and all order, was then sought,) was the very same harlot of Babylon, and rout of devils, whereof is prophesied so plainly in the Apocalypse.

I know well enough the authority of these foresaid persons will be but lightly regarded amongst these men. How then if I call forth those for witness, whom they themselves have used to honour? What if I say that ADRIAN [the Sixth]^a the Bishop of Rome did frankly

denses, and were soon confounded with the far more ancient *Valdenses*, or inhabitants of the *Valleys* of Piedmont, who through the darkest ages of Romish corruption, had preserved inviolate, in their sequestered nook, those primitive doctrines which the merchant of Lyons only revived in France, by the dissemination of the Scriptures. The *Valdenses* of Piedmont, consisting of a body of clergy and laity preserved by their poverty and seclusion from the corruption which pervaded Christendom, had maintained the character of an entire and regular branch of the Church catholic, in which the word and sacraments of CHRIST were duly ministered. The *Valdenses* of Lyons, originating in the zealous efforts of a pious layman to spread the word of God and its pure doctrines, possessed no regular ministry, and departed in many points both of discipline and doctrine from the model of Christianity.

For *piety* and *purity of intention*, however, equal praise belongs to both; and the active exertions of PETER VALDO and his associates, because they excited more attention, and were made on a more public stage, than the quiet perseverance in well-doing of the simple rustics of Piedmont, were probably most effectual in hastening on the glorious dawn of Reformation.

As to the opinions of the *Poor men of Lyons*; they "found fault," says JEWELL, "with the lewd life of the clergy, with purgatory, with holy water, with pardons, and with other like deceivings of the people. They translated the Bible, and prayed in their natural known mother tongue. These were their errors. Therefore were they called 'detestable heretics:' [HARDING had called them so:] therefore were they condemned by your Church of Rome. But, God's name be blessed for ever! since that time the Pope's painted power hath still abated, and these 'poor detestable condemned heretics' have still increased." *Defence*, p. 408.]

^a PLATINA, in *Vit. Pontif.*—[Adrian VI. succeeded Leo X. in the Papal see in 1522, and died in 1523. He was well disposed to reform the Papal corruptions as to *practice*, and set seriously about the work, but was prevented from effecting any thing important by the shortness of his reign.

"Thus he pronounced at Nuremberg in Germany, in the great assembly of the empire, by the mouth of CHEREGATUS, his Legate *a Latere*: 'A sacerdotibus iniquitatem,' &c. 'that the iniquity of the people grew from the priests: and that now, for the space of many years, there have been great and grievous offences committed in Rome:

confess that all these mischiefs brast [burst] out first from the high throne of the Pope of Rome? PIGNIUS^r acknowledgeth herein to be a fault, that many abuses are brought in, even into the very Mass, which Mass otherwise he would have seem to be a most reverend matter. GERSON saith, that through the number of most fond ceremonies, all the virtue of the HOLY GHOST, which ought to have full operation in us, and all true godliness, is utterly quenched and dead. Whole *Greece* and *Asia* complain,^a how the bishops of Rome, with the marts of their purgatories and pardons [indulgences] have both tormented men's consciences, and picked their purses.

As touching the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, and their barbarous Persian-like pride; to leave out others, whom perchance they reckon for enemies, because they freely and liberally find fault with their vices; the same men which have led their life at Rome, in the *holy city*, in the face of the *most holy father*, who also were able to see all their secrets, and at no time departed from the *catholic faith*—as for example, LAURENTIUS VALLA,¹

and that all this plague and mischief hath flowed unto all the inferior rulers of the Church, even *from the high throne of the Pope's holiness.*' (SLEIDAN, Lib. IV. Ann. 1523.) This same story is also extant printed at Cologne, in a book called *Fasciculus Rerum Sciendarum.*" *Defence*, p. 409.]

^r [ALBERT PIGNIUS, a celebrated Romish divine of the sixteenth century, was a bigotted adherent to the interests of the See of Rome, even in the extent to which they are carried by what is called the *Ultramontane* class of hierarchists. Yet he was free in acknowledging the abominable corruption of manners which defiled the Roman court. He was in favour with Adrian VI. and his successors. He died in 1542.]

^a ["Surely the Christian men that be this day in Greece and Asia, utterly abhor the Pope, with all the deformities of his Church. The Greek Emperor Michael Palæologus, for that he had submitted himself to the Pope in the late Council of Florence, was therefore afterward abhorred and hated of his people while he lived; and being dead, was forbidden Christian burial. (PAUL. ÆMIL. *Pantaleon.*) Isidore, the Archbishop of Kiow in Russia, for that being returned from the said Council, he began for unity's sake to move the people to the like submission, was therefore deposed from his bishopric, and put to death. (MATTH. A MICHONIA in *Novo Orbe.*) In such reverence the Churches of Asia and Greece have this day the Church of Rome." *Defence*, p. 410.]

The modern Greeks, though themselves not inferior in corruption to the Church of Rome, inherit their fathers' prejudices against that Church in all their bitterness. Several amusing instances of this are given in the lately published travels of Dr. MADDEN.]

¹ ["As for LAURENCE VALLA," says HARDING, "he was not in

MARSILIUS PATAVINUS,* FRANCIS PETRARCH,† JEROME SAVONAROLA,‡ Abbot JOACHIM, BAPTIST of

every point very sound, as it appeareth in his book of *Free Will*, and in his *Annotations upon the New Testament*. In all things he handled, he showed himself rather new fangled, than groundedly learned, as well in grammar and logic, as in divinity."

Indeed, it was hardly fair in JEWELL to adduce VALLA's testimony as that of an orthodox Romanist, if it be true which is reported of him—that his freedom of sentiment on many points of the Romish faith, after forcing him to fly to Naples for the protection of its king Alphonso, himself a noted freethinker, at last procured him a condemnation by the Inquisition to be burned alive, which the royal intercession commuted into a public whipping. Subsequently to this, however, it is allowed that he taught with much reputation at Genoa, Pavia, Milan, and Rome itself, and enjoyed a Canonry in the church of St. John Lateran, at Rome. He first disproved the pretended donation of Rome to the Holy See by Constantine; and the popular error that the Apostles' Creed was composed by the twelve Apostles, each contributing an article. His grammatical and philological writings, and the free spirit of research which all his productions tended to introduce and recommend, contributed greatly to the revival of learning in the sixteenth century—of which he has sometimes been called *the father*.

VALLA was born at Placentia, and died at the age of 50, at Rome, in 1458.]

* [MARSILIUS PATAVINUS, i. e. of Padua, taught theology and the canon law at Paris, in the fourteenth century, with great reputation. He was a strenuous maintainer of the independence of the temporal powers against the arrogant pretensions of the Papacy.]

† [PETRARCH, the famous Italian poet, would be of little value as authority in a theological question. But as a witness to the corruptions of the court of Rome, (in his time held, not at Rome, but at Avignon in France,) his intimate acquaintance with its most eminent members, his long residence in the court itself and its neighbourhood, and above all his ardent though inconsistent attachment to the Papal see, entitle him to great consideration.]

PETRARCH was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, in 1304. Thence his father removed to the papal court at Avignon, on which he became a dependant. The son studied law, but without embracing it as his profession. At the age of twenty-two, he fixed his residence at Vacluse, a village in the neighbourhood of Avignon. He subsequently travelled in France, the Netherlands, and Germany; and on his return, engaged in the service of Pope John XXII. On Easter-day, April 8, 1341, he was solemnly crowned, as a reward for his poetic talents, at Rome. In 1252 he finally abandoned France, and spent the remainder of his life in different parts of Italy. He died at Arequa, in 1374.

PETRARCH, although principally distinguished by productions wholly inconsistent with the clerical character, was possessed of ecclesiastical preferment, being archdeacon of Parma, and a canon of Padua. His letters testify a deep sense of the corruptions which pervaded the whole ecclesiastical state, and an ardent desire for their removal.]

‡ [SAVONAROLA was indeed, as JEWELL represents him, attached to the Romish faith, in its most important peculiarities: yet he has

Mantua,* and, before all these, BERNARD the Abbot;—

been placed, and not wholly without reason, in the list of Reformers. He was a man of ardent piety, and burning zeal; who saw and detested the abominable vices which were sanctioned and practised by the Church of Rome; and to remove them, did not hesitate to embrace methods which, by their irregularity and contrariety to the Papal powers and pretensions, obtained for him, among Protestants, the reputation of a Reformer and martyr; among Papists the character of a heretic, and a death of torments.

He was born at Ferrara in 1452; partially assumed the vows of the Dominican order of friars at the age of twenty-two; was invited to Florence by Lorenzo de Medici, on account of his celebrity as a preacher, and settled in the Priory of St. Mark in that city, in 1488. His preaching speedily acquired him almost unbounded popularity. In the troubles which followed the death of Lorenzo de Medici, his ardent disposition led him to assume a prominent part; and the influence which his religious zeal had gained him, was turned to the account of an equal zeal in politics. He espoused the cause of liberty, and thus gave a two-fold provocation to the papal power, which was ranked on the side of the Medicean family.

After undergoing the spiritual censures of Rome, and, notwithstanding, acquiring an almost dictatorial power over his fellow citizens, SAVONAROLA was at length destroyed by the fanaticism into which his religious zeal had degenerated. Some Franciscan friars (at all times the bitter enemies of the Dominican order) attacked him from the pulpit as a condemned heretic. A zealous partizan offered to prove his innocence by a miracle—to walk through the flames unhurt, if the Franciscans would submit their accusations to the same test. Strange to say, the challenge was accepted. SAVONAROLA countenanced the impious proceeding; but on the day of trial, when all things were prepared, insisted that his champion should carry with him into the flames the consecrated wafer—as he termed it, ‘the body of CHRIST.’ The proposal was regarded as sacrilegious. By a reaction not at all uncommon, the affection of the people suddenly changed to detestation. His enemies took advantage of the revulsion of popular feeling, and hurried him to prison. There, with his champion, and another Dominican friar, he was tortured into a confession of guilt; was condemned; and the next day witnessed his public execution, and the burning of his body in the very fire prepared to prove his miraculous powers.

He was charged with sundry departures from the faith of Rome, but except in the article of justification, they were not proved. His great *heresy* was his uncompromising opposition to the vices of the clergy and court of Rome.

The death of SAVONAROLA took place in 1498. Several of his compositions have been published, partly during his life, partly after his decease. They contain some valuable devotional matter, with much objectionable fanaticism, in some parts not stopping short of pretensions to inspiration.]

* [JOHN BAPTIST MANTUANUS (i. e. of Mantua) attained celebrity among his contemporaries by his Latin poems; which, however, excel rather in length and number, than in any other respect. He was born in 1448, and died in 1516. In many parts of his writings he severely lashes the vices of the clergy of his day.]

have many a time and much complained of it,' giving the world also sometime to understand, that the Bishop of Rome himself (by your leave) is very *Antichrist*.² Whether they speak it truly or falsely, let that go. Sure I am, they speak it plainly. Neither can any man allege, that those authors were LUTHER'S or ZUINGLE'S scholars: for they lived not only certain years, but also certain ages ere ever LUTHER or ZUINGLE'S names were heard of.

Sect. 10. And what marvel if the Church were then carried away with errors in that time, specially when neither the Bishop of Rome, who then only ruled the roost, nor almost any other, either did his duty, or once understood what was his duty? For it is hard to be believed, whiles they were idle, and fast asleep, that the devil also all that while either fell asleep, or else continually lay idle. For how they were occupied in the mean time, and with what faithfulness they took care of God's house, though we held our peace, I pray you

y [HARDING objects, that JEWELL'S witnesses were not competent, not having lived at Rome, with the exception of VALLA. JEWELL replies: "Howbeit, *Bernard the Abbot*, that dwelt furthest off, was twice in Rome, and was chief of counsel with Pope Innocent [the Second] in his greatest affairs. *Francis Petrarch* was made poet in the capitol, and kept Laura his concubine* in the eye of the Pope, and had his most abode in Rome.† *Laurentius Valla* was Canon of the Cathedral Church in Lateran, and led his life, and died, in Rome. Briefly, S. Bernard only excepted, all the rest were Italians, and dwelt never far from Rome: and as it may appear by the plainness of their speech, understood some of the deepest secrets of the Church of Rome." *Defence*, p. 412.]

² ["BERNARD saith thus: 'Bestia illa de Apocalypsi,' &c. 'The Beast that is spoken of in the book of Revelations, unto which beast is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to keep war against the saints of God, is now gotten into Peter's chair, as a lion prepared to his prey.' (*Epist.* 125. p. 1316. Opp.)—*Joachimus Abbas* said above three hundred years since: 'Antichristus jam pridem natus est Romæ,' &c. 'Antichrist is already born in Rome, and shall advance himself higher in the apostolic see.'—*Franciscus Petrarcha* likewise saith: 'Rome is the whore of Babylon; the mother of idolatry and fornication; the sanctuary of heresy; and the school of error.' (*Epist.* 20.)—

* There is no evidence of any criminal intercourse between Petrarch and his Laura, who, if she ever existed, (of which strong doubts are entertained,) was the chaste wife of another man.

† JEWELL appears to confound Rome with Avignon, which was the Papal seat in PETRARCH'S time, and where the poet 'had his most abode.'

let them hear BERNARD, their own friend: "The bishops," saith he, "who now have the charge of God's Church, are not teachers, but deceivers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they are not prelates, but Pilates."^a These words spake BERNARD of that Bishop who named himself the highest bishop of all, and of the other bishops likewise which then had the place of government. BERNARD was no *Lutheran*: BERNARD was no *heretic*: he had not 'forsaken the Catholic Church:' yet nevertheless he did not let [delay] to call the bishops that then were, 'deceivers,' 'beguilers,' and 'Pilates.' Now when the people was openly deceived, and Christian men's eyes were craftily bleared, and Pilate sat in judgment place, and condemned CHRIST and CHRIST's members to sword and fire: O good LORD! in what case was CHRIST's Church then! But yet tell me, of so many, and so gross errors, what one error have these men at any time reformed? Or, what fault have they once acknowledged, and confessed?

But forasmuch as these men avouch the universal possession of the Catholic Church to be their own, and call us *heretics*, because we agree not in judgment with them; let us know, I beseech you, what proper mark and badge hath that Church of theirs, whereby it may be known to be the Church of God? Ye wis [know] it is not so hard a matter to find out God's Church, if a man will seek it earnestly and diligently, and as he

The Pope himself, for that he saw to whose person and credit these things belonged, therefore in his late Council of the Lateran (*Conc. Lateran. sub Julio et Leone*, Sess. xi.) gave strait commandment unto all preachers, that no man should dare once to speak of the coming of Antichrist." *Defence*, p. 413.]

^a [This passage, while it evinces BERNARD's honest boldness in condemning the great men of his day, furnishes an amusing illustration of the bad taste of the age, infesting even his writings: in the original it is a tissue of *puns*. "Episcopi, quibus nunc commissa est Ecclesia DEI, non doctores sunt, sed seductores; non pastores, sed impostores; non prelati, sed Pilati." (*Ad Eugenium*.) Lady Bacon's genuine Saxon nearly hides this glare of false wit; but it might be displayed to the reader in modern English thus: "They are not doctors, but seducers; not pastors, but impostors; not prelates, but Pilates."—

In the *Defence*, (p. 415,) JEWELL quotes equally strong passages relative to the lives of the clergy, in support of BERNARD, from Cardinal VITALIS, ALBERTUS MAGNUS, WILLIAM HOLCOT, and JOHN OF SALISBURY.]

should. For the Church of God is set upon a high and glistening place, in the top of a hill,^b and "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets."^c "There," saith AUGUSTINE, "let us seek the Church: there let us try our matters."^d And, as he saith again in another place: "The Church must be showed out of the holy and canonical Scriptures: and that which cannot be showed out of them, is not the Church."^e Yet for all this, I wot not how, whether it be for fear, or for conscience, or despair of victory, these men alway abhor and fly the word of God, even as the thief flieth the gallows. And no wonder truly. For, like as men say the cantharus [the dung beetle] by and by perisheth, as soon as it is laid in balm; notwithstanding balm be otherwise a most sweet smelling ointment: even so these men will see, their own matter is damned and destroyed in the word of God, as if it were in poison. Therefore the Holy Scriptures, which our Saviour JESUS CHRIST did not only use for authority in all his speech, but did also at last seal up the same with his own blood, these men, to the intent they might with less business drive the people from the same, as from a thing dangerous and deadly, have used to call "*a bare letter*, uncer-

^b Matth. v. 14. Isa. ii. 2. Micah iv. 2.

^c Ephes. ii. 20.

^d "Ibi queramus Ecclesiam: ibi discutiamus causam nostram." AUGUST. *de Unitate Ecclesiae*, cap. iii.

^e "Ecclesia ex sacris et canonicis Scripturis ostendenda est: quæque ex illis ostendi non potest, non est Ecclesia." AUGUST. *de Unit. Eccles.* c. iv.

[“Likewise saith S. CHRYSOSTOM, (in *Opere Imperfect.* Hom. 49.) ‘Now can no man know which is the true Church of CHRIST, but only by the Scriptures.’ Again he saith in the like form of words: (*Ibid.*) ‘If a man be desirous to know which is the true Church of CHRIST, how can he know it, in such a confusion of likeness, but only by the Scriptures?’”—*Defence*, p. 417.]

[This word, as it here occurs, illustrates its use in the English translation of the New Testament. Both here and there, it is precisely equivalent to the word ‘condemn.’ Colloquial usage has in process of time confined the application of the verb ‘damn’ (with the single exception of the rejection of a play) and the noun ‘damnation’ to the condemnation of the wicked in a future state. In consequence of this, such passages as 1 Cor. xi. 29, 1 Tim. v. 12, Rom. xiii. 2. xiv. 23, and 2 Pet. ii. 1, are very frequently misunderstood. Let the words ‘condemnation’ be substituted for ‘damnation,’ and ‘condemnable’ for ‘damnable,’ (with which they were perfectly equivalent in the estimation of the Translators) and all will be perfectly plain.]

tain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, and dead :”^a which seemeth to us all one as if they should say, ‘ the Scriptures are to no purpose, or as good as none at all.’ Hereunto they add a similitude not very agreeable: how the Scriptures be like to a nose of wax, or a shipman’s hose; how they may be fashioned and plied all manner of ways, and serve all men’s turns.^b

Woteth not the Bishop of Rome, that these things are spoken by his own minions? or understandeth he not, he hath such champions to fight for him? Let him hearken, then, how holily, and how godly, one Hosius writeth of this matter; a bishop in Poland, as he testifieth of himself; a man doubtless well spoken, and not unlearned, and a very sharp and a stout maintainer of that side. Thou wilt marvel, I suppose, how any good man could either conceive so wickedly, or write so despitefully, of those words which he knew proceeded from God’s mouth; and specially in such sort as he would not have it seem his own private opinion alone, but the common opinion of all that band. He dissembleth, I grant you indeed, and hideth what he is, and setteth forth the matter so, as though it were not he, and his side, but the Zwenckfeldian heretics, that so did speak. “ We,” saith he, “ will bid away with the same

^a ALBERTUS PIGHIUS in *Controversia de Ecclesia*.

^b The passage is too extraordinary to be omitted.—“Sunt Scripturæ, ut non minus verè quam festivè [what a subject for a joke!] dixit quidam, *velut nasus cereus* qui se horsum, illorsum, et in quacunque volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingique facillè permittit.” *Hierarchia*, Lib. III. c. iii. fol. 103. Quoted by JEWELL, in the *Defence*, p. 423.]

ⁱ Hosius, one of the most eminent champions of the Romish Church, was living when JEWELL wrote. His reputation among his contemporaries of the same faith was very great, and his numerous works, which have been translated into various languages, are even yet regarded by Papists as highly valuable. He was born at Cracow, in Poland, in 1503. After having studied at Padua and Bologna, he served the king of Poland for some time in a civil capacity, and obtained from him successive ecclesiastical promotions, until he became Bishop of Warmie. Being employed by Pope Pius IV. in an embassy to the emperor Ferdinand, to obtain the continuation of the Council of Trent, his eloquence gained the unqualified admiration of that prince, and the Pope was so well satisfied with his services, as to reward him with a Cardinal’s hat, and charge him, in conjunction with two other Cardinal-Legates, with the re-opening of the Council. This was in 1561. Some time after, Pope Gregory XIII. called Hosius to Rome, appointing him Grand Penitentiary. He died at Capravolo, near Rome, in 1579.]

Scriptures, whereof we see brought, not only divers, but also contrary, interpretations: and we will hear God speak, rather than we will resort to the naked elements or bare words of the Scriptures, and appoint our salvation to rest in them. It behoveth not a man to be expert in the Law and Scripture, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labour, that a man bestoweth in the Scriptures. For the Scripture is a creature, and a certain bare letter."—This is Hosius' saying, uttered altogether with the same spirit and the same mind wherewith in times past the heretics MONTANUS¹ and MARCION² were moved,

¹ "Nos ipsas Scripturas, quarum tot jam non diversas modo, sed etiam contrarias interpretationes afferri videmus, facessere jubebimus, et Deum loquentem potius audiemus, quam, ut ad *egena ista elementa* nos convertamus, et in illis salutem nostram constituamus. *Non oportet Legis et Scripturæ peritum esse*, sed a Deo doctum. Vanus est labor qui Scripturis impenditur. Scriptura enim creatura est, et egenum quoddam elementum." Hosius in Lib. *de Expresso Verbo Dei*.

¹ [MONTANUS can hardly be said to have 'rejected the Holy Scriptures,' since it is certain that his followers admitted the authority of the several books of the Old and New Testaments, and held all their essential doctrines. Yet he did profess to 'know more and better things than the Apostles;' since he pretended to be inspired by the HOLY SPIRIT to complete the revelation which CHRIST and the Apostles had left imperfect. His supplementary matter related exclusively to ascetic observances and external discipline.

The personal history of MONTANUS is obscure, and his sect derives its principal celebrity from the fact that TERTULLIAN was misled to embrace its errors. It arose in Phrygia, probably about the year 150. The leader himself, and two females among his first followers, made pretensions to inspiration, and a commission to perfect the Christian revelation. They enjoined on their disciples long and frequent fasts and vigils, forbade second marriages, and utterly excluded persons once guilty of open crime from re-admission to Christian communion.

JEWELL quotes his authority for the assertion in the text, in the *Defence*, p. 424. It is from TERTULLIAN, *de Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*, c. lii. "Dicant Paracletum plura in Montano dixisse, quam CHRISTUM in evangelium protulisse: nec tantum plura, sed etiam meliora atque majora."—"They (the Montanists) say that the Paraclete uttered more things in Montanus, than ever CHRIST promulgated in the gospel: and not only more, but also better and greater."]

² [MARCION was one of the many heretics of the second century, whom an attempt to reconcile the origin of evil with the attributes of God led astray from the truth of the gospel. He was induced to deny the identity of JEHOVAH revealed in the Old Testament with the FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. The contrariety of the main body of Christian revelation to this opinion led him also to reject the greater part of the Gospels and Epistles, and to maintain that the doctrine of the apostles Paul and Peter differed, the latter having corrupted Christianity by an admixture of Judaism. He frained from the Gospel

who, as it is written of them, used to say, when with contempt they rejected the Holy Scriptures—that themselves knew many more and better things than either CHRIST or the Apostles ever knew.

What then shall I say here, O ye principal posts of religion! O ye arch-governors of CHRIST's Church! Is this that your reverence which ye give to God's word? The holy Scriptures, "which," St. Paul saith, "were given by inspiration of God"^a—which God did commend by so many miracles^o—wherein are the most perfect prints of CHRIST's own steps^p—which all the holy fathers, apostles, and angels, which CHRIST himself, the Son of God, as often as was needful, did allege for testimony and proof: will ye, as though they were unworthy for you to hear, bid them avaunt? That is, will ye enjoin God to keep silence, who speaketh to you most clearly by His own mouth in the Scriptures? Or that word, whereby alone, as Paul saith, we are reconciled unto God,^q and which the prophet David saith is 'holy and pure, and shall endure for ever';^r will ye call that but a *bare and dead letter*? Or will ye say, that all our labour is lost, which is bestowed in that thing which CHRIST hath commanded us diligently to search,^s and to have ever before our eyes? And will ye say that CHRIST and the Apostles meant with subtlety to deceive the people, when they exhorted them to read the holy Scriptures, that thereby they might flow [abound] in all wisdom and knowledge? No marvel at all though these men despise us, and all our doings, seeing they set so little by God himself and his infallible sayings! Yet

according to Luke, by interpolations and additions, a fictitious Gospel, which he imposed upon his followers as the authentic history of CHRIST.

MARCION was a native of Pontus, but spread his erroneous opinions in Rome, between A. D. 140 and 160. He appears to have been a fickle, rash disputant, unsettled in his own opinions, and unscrupulous in the support of such as at the time obtained his preference. He was more than once excluded the communion of the Church, and at the time of his death was desirous of re-admission. See Bp. KAY's *Ecclesiastical History illustrated from Tertullian*, p. 479 ss.

In the *Defence*, (p. 124,) JEWELL quotes the sentiment here attributed to Marcion, as uttered by Carpocrates, (another heretic of the second century,) and refers to EPIPHANIUS, Lib. I. *Hæres.* 27.]

^a 2 Tim. iii. 16.

^o Heb. ii. 4.

^p 1 Pet. ii. 21.

^q 2 Cor. v. 19.

^r Ps. xix. 8, 9.—1 Pet. i. 25.

^s John v. 39.

was it but want of wit in them, to the intent they might hurt us to do so extreme injury to the word of God.

[But **HOSIUS** will here make exclamation, and say that we do him wrong, and that these be not his own words, but the words of the heretic **ZWENCKFELDIUS**. But how then, if **ZWENCKFELDIUS** make exclamation on the other side, and say, that the very same words be not his, but **HOSIUS**' own words? For tell me, where hath **ZWENCKFELDIUS** ever written them? Or, if he have written them, and **HOSIUS** have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not **HOSIUS** spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter go, although **HOSIUS** peradventure will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow *the meaning* of the words. For well near in all controversies, and namely touching the use of the Holy Communion under both kinds, although the words of **CHRIST** be plain and evident, yet doth **HOSIUS** disdainfully reject them, as no better than *cold and dead elements*: and commandeth us to give faith to certain new lessons, appointed by his Church, and to I wot not what revelations of the **HOLY GHOST**. And **PIGHIVS** saith: "Men ought not to believe, no, not the most clear and manifest words of the Scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the Church;" whereby he meaneth the *Church of Rome*.]¹

¹ [The whole of this passage in brackets is neither in the original Latin of the *Apology*, nor in the translation published in the *Fathers of the English Church*: but it is inserted by **JEWELL** himself in the text of the English translation of his *Apology* which accompanies the *Defence*, and is animadverted upon by **HARDING**. It may therefore be considered as authentic.

The truth is, **JEWELL** quoted **HOSIUS** rashly in the first instance. He mistook the design of that writer in the passage which he selected. The additional paragraph is an attempt (and it must be confessed, a rather awkward attempt) to set the matter right. **HARDING** indulges in much tragical declamation on the themes of 'ignorance,' 'rashness,' 'stubbornness,' 'malicious perfidy,' &c.

JEWELL's *Defence* of this passage is long. The sum is as follows: Three questions arise as to this misquotation: 1. Did **JEWELL** mistake his author's sense? 2. If the sense of *this* passage was mistaken, are the opinions of **HOSIUS** misrepresented? 3. Is the imputation which the whole paragraph casts upon the Church of Rome well-founded?

1. The *mistake* is acknowledged. It is excused by the obscurity of the passage, and the example of **NICOLAUS GALLUS**, (a Papist, who

Sect. 11. And yet, as though this were too little, they also burn the holy Scriptures, as in times past wicked king Aza,* or as Antiochus,† or Maximin‡ did;

quotes the passage with approbation,) FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, and JACOBUS ANDRAEUS, who had already made the same mistake.

2. Although *this passage* be misrepresented, Hosius' *opinions* are not. "For proof whereof; when objection was made, that King David, being not a bishop, but only a temporal prince, had written the Psalms, that is to say, the very key of the Scriptures, Hosius made answer, 'Quid ni scriberet? Scribemus indocti doctique poemata passim.' 'And why should he not write them? (HORACE saith) *We write poems everybody, learned and unlearned.*' (Lib. II. contra Brentium.) So unreverently, and like a heathen, he scorneth and scoffeth at the Scriptures of God, and likeneth the heavenly ditties of the HOLY GHOST to a vile, heathenish, wanton ballad!" And again: "Hosius by his episcopal authority pronounceth sentence definitive in this wise: 'Quod Ecclesia docet, expressum Dei verbum est: quod contra sensum et consensum Ecclesiæ docetur, expressum diaboli verbum est.' 'Whatsoever the Church teacheth; (by the Church he meaneth the Pope and his Cardinals, and the Church of Rome;) that is the express word of God: whatsoever is taught against the meaning and consent of the Church, that is the express word of the devil.' (*De Expresso verbo Dei*, p. 97.)" *Defence*, p. 424.

3. Nor is the imputation cast on the Church of Rome less just. Her ablest doctors have maintained the opinion expressed in the passage misquoted from Hosius. The following are cited at length in the *Defence*, p. 423.—LUDOVICUS, a canon of the Lateran Church at Rome, said in the Council of Trent: 'Scriptura est quasi mortuum atramentum'—'the Scripture is as it were *dead ink*.' The Bishop of Poitiers, in the same Council, called it 'res inanimis, et muta'—'an *inanimate and dumb thing*.' ALBERT PIGHIUS: 'Si dixeris,' &c. 'If thou say, these things should be referred to the judgment of Scripture, thou showest thyself void of common sense; for the Scriptures are *dumb judges*.' ECKIUS, LUTHER's famous opponent, calls the Scriptures 'Evangelium nigrum—theologiam atramentarium'—'a *black gospel—an inken theology*.' JEWELL gives others to the same purport: but these sufficiently show with what contempt the Church of Rome has been wont to treat the revelation of God's will.]

* [This is another instance of incorrect reference. JEWELL doubtless had in view the burning of the roll of Jeremiah, narrated in Jer. xxxvi. The king who committed that impious act was not Aza (a pious prince,) but Jehoiakim. Yet both the Latin text, and JEWELL's own edition of the translation (and I may add, without much surprise, CAMPBELL's translation) give the name Aza. The translation in the *Fathers of the English Church* has Jehoiakim.]

† [The attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, to subvert the Jewish religion and policy, of which the destruction of the Law (for his 'burning of the Scriptures' extended no farther) formed part, was made in the year 168 before CHRIST. PRIDEAUX' *Connexions*, Part II. Book iii. sub anno 168.]

‡ [There were two emperors by the name of Maximin; the first, called the Thracian, succeeded Alexander Severus in 235; the other

and are wont to name them 'Heretics' books.* And out of doubt, as it seemeth, they would do as Herod in old time did in Jewry, that he might with more surety keep still his usurped dominion : who, being an Idumean born, and a stranger to the stock and kindred of the Jews, and yet coveting much to be taken for a Jew, to the end he might establish to him and his posterity the kingdom of that country, which he had gotten of Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all the genealogies and pedigrees to be burned, and made out of the way, so that there should remain no record, whereby it might be known to them that came after, that he was an alien in blood : † whereas even from Abraham's time these monuments had been safely kept amongst the Jews, and laid up in their treasury : because in them it might easily and most assuredly be found of what lineage every one did descend. So, in good faith, do these men ; when they would have all their own doings in estimation as though they had been

succeeded Galerius in the empire of the East in 307. Both were persecutors. Which, or whether either, promulgated an edict for the destruction of the Scriptures, I am ignorant.]

* [A pleasant anecdote is related of TUNSTAL, one of the least culpable adversaries of the reformation among the English bishops. He met with TINDALE'S translation of the New Testament in its first edition, and was shocked at its tendency to injure the Church of Rome. The book had been printed in Holland. An English merchant who traded with Holland, informed the bishop that he could put him in the way of purchasing the whole edition. The unsuspecting prelate greedily embraced the opportunity, bought up all the copies for a considerable sum, and made a glorious bonfire of them, with no little triumph in the fancied extermination of heresy. Very few months had elapsed before the obnoxious book made its appearance again, in greater plenty than ever. The bishop sent for his agent, and upbraided him with fraudulently withholding part of the edition. He was assured that he had been dealt with fairly—but, as he had paid a good price for the whole edition, the publishers had been enabled, by his means, to put to press immediately another, larger, and much more accurate!]

† EUSEBIUS [or rather AFRICANUS, quoted by EUSEBIUS, *Eccl. Hist.* Lib. I. c. vii. 'Ἡρώδης οὐδέν τι συμβαλλομένου τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ συνιδόντι τῆς ὁμογενείας κρουόμενος, ἐνέκρησεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν γενῶν, διόμενος εὐγενὴς ἀναφανῆσθαι, κ. λ. VALESIIUS remarks : "I think this story doubtful. For JOSEPHUS, in his own life, recounting the origin and antiquity of his race, cites as his authority the public archives. Public lists, then, in which the descent of the families of the Jews was carried out, must have been extant in the time of JOSEPHUS. Of course, it is not true that Herod burned them." *Not. in loc.* Tom. 1. p. 54. ed Heinichen.]

delivered to us even from the Apostles, or from CHRIST himself; to the end there might be found no where any thing able to convince such their dreams and lies, either they burn the holy Scriptures, or else they craftily convey them from the people.*

* ["Whether ye have burnt the Scriptures of God, or no, heaven, and earth, and sea, and land, may bear witness. For a poor excuse ye say, 'Ye have burnt our errors, and heretical translations, and not the Scriptures: as the husbandman useth to burn the caterpillars.' Howbeit, he may be thought an unwise husbandman, that burneth up his caterpillars and trees too, both together; and to wreak himself of the one, is content to destroy the other. If all books containing error should be burnt, then should your Lovanian novelties go to wreck. For ye wis, M. Harding, contention and vain glory set apart, ye know right well, they are full of errors. Moreover ye know there are errors in AUGUSTINE, there be errors in ORIGEN, in TERTULLIAN, in AMBROSE, in JEROME: there be errors in every of the ancient fathers; in the Greeks, in the Latins; in the one and other.—Yet is there no book worthy to be burnt, in respect of error, but only the book of the Scriptures?"]

"If there were such errors in the vulgar translations, ye should have descried them: although not all, yet, for your credit's sake, one at the least. Ye should have removed the error, and have restored the Scriptures, to the use and comfort of the people. But this is it that troubleth you so sore, that the Scriptures are published in the common known tongue, and that the simple of all sorts may understand them.

"But ye say, 'Ye have kept and preserved the Scriptures in your libraries.' Even in like sort, and with like truth, ye might say that you have kept the sun, and the moon, and had it not been for your keeping, they had been lost. It was God, M. Harding, that of his mercy preserved his holy word: even as he preserved Daniel in the cave of lions, Jonah in the whale's belly, the three children in the midst of the flaming fire. Ye kept the Scriptures as the dog keepeth the hay; which neither eateth it himself, nor suffereth the poor hungry cattle, that fain would eat it. Ye keep them in ward, in dust and mould, as the Jews, before the time of king Josiah, kept the book of Deuteronomy, closely in the corners, or amongst the treasures of the temple, so that no man knew where to find it. Had it not been for God's special providence, notwithstanding your keeping, they might have perished.—Thus the Jews made their vaunts that they were the 'keepers of the law;' and that the Christians had all of them. S. AUGUSTINE saith, 'Judæi dicunt,' &c. 'The Jews say that we have no law of our own, but only theirs.' (in *Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Qu. 44.*) Likewise even at this day the Jews keep and use the law of God with all reverence: they never lay any other book upon the Bible: they wash their hands before they touch it: they will not sit upon the bench where the Bible lieth: as often as they either open or shut it, they use to kiss it. (P. FAGIUS in *Deut. xvii.*) When the Pope goeth through Rome to his palace of the Lateran, the Jews meet upon the way, and offer him the Bible, and desire him reverently to embrace it, as though the Pope could have no Bible, but only of them. All these things notwithstanding, the Pope answereth them of course [accord-

ry rightly and aptly doth CHRYSOSTOM write against men. "Heretics," saith he, "shut up the gates at the truth: for they know full well, if the gate open, the Church should be none of theirs."^a PHYLACT also: "God's word," saith he, "is the key, whereby the thief is espied." And TERTULLIAN: "The holy Scripture manifestly findeth out the error and theft of heretics."^b For why do they hide—do they keep under, the gospel, which CHRIST I have preached aloud from the house top?^c Why not they that light under a bushel, which ought to be on the candlestick?^d Why trust they more to the blindness of the unskilful multitude, and to ignorance, than to the goodness of their cause? Think their sleights are not already perceived, and that they can walk now unespied, as though they had Gyges' ring to go invisible by, upon their finger? No, no: we can see now well and well again, what good stuff is in that chest of the Bishop of Rome's bosom.^e This

a set form] even as we may answer you: 'Sanctam legem,' &c. holy Law, men of the Hebrews, we both praise and venerate: for our observance of it, and vain interpretation, we condemn and reprove.' *Ceremoniar. Lib. I. c. viii.*)

ask not therefore so much, M. Harding, of your *safe keeping* of the Scriptures. For the Jews have kept, and unto this day do keep, as safely as you. Ye kept the Scriptures as the Augurs of sometime kept the Sibyl's books: that is to say, ye kept them selves, in close prison and in secrecy; that the people should know nothing, but in all cases should be forced to seek to you. Thus is the light in darkness: and, as St. Paul saith, (Rom. i. 18.) 'He hid the truth in unrighteousness.'"^f *Defence*, p. 426 a.

Opere Imperfecto.

hæc Scriptura hæreticorum fraudes et furta vincit."

atth. x. 27.

atth. v. 15.

gyges, king of Lydia, seven hundred years before the Christian was fabled to have found, while yet a shepherd, a ring which made him invisible when he turned the setting towards the palm of his hand—visible again, when he restored it to the usual position. and CICERO quote the story in illustration of the precept, that a virtuous man will at all times, and in all circumstances, equally true to his integrity, 'honesta enim bonis viris, non occulta quaeruntur;' 'for good men aim at virtue, not secrecy.' *De Offic. III. 9.*] SWELL quotes his authority for this singular expression: "Your opinion on the Canon Law] saith: 'Etsi totus mundus sententiaret in negotio contra Papam, tamen videtur, quod standum sit sententiae Papæ. Jura enim omnia in scrinio pectoris sui habere videtur,'"

thing alone of itself may be an argument sufficient, that they work not uprightly and truly. Worthily ought that matter to seem suspicious which flieth trial, and is afraid of the light. "For every one that doeth evil," as CHRIST saith, "hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved: but he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God."^c Neither be they so very blind, but they see this well enough—that their kingdom straightway is at a point, if the Scriptures once have the upper hand: and that, like as men say, the idols of devils in times past, of whom men in doubtful matters were then wont to receive answers, were suddenly stricken dumb at the sight of CHRIST, when he was born, and came into the world:^d even so they see, that now all their subtle practices will soon fall down headlong, even upon the sight of the Gospel. For Antichrist is not overthrown, but by the brightness of the coming of CHRIST.ⁱ

Sect. 12. As for us, we run not for succour to the fire,^k as these men's guise is, but we run to the Scrip-

'Although the whole world should judge in any matter against the Pope, yet it seemeth, that we ought to stand to the judgment of the Pope. For he seemeth to have *all laws in the chest of his bosom.*' (9. *Quest.* 3. Neque ab August.) *Defence*, p. 430.]

^c John iii. 20, 21.

^d [The cessation of the heathen oracles about the time of our Saviour's coming, is indisputable. But the cause is differently assigned. Some, supposing all the oracles to have been the effects of demoniacal influence, agree with the representation given by JEWELL: so REEVES, *Dedication* to his Translation of the *Apologies of the Fathers*; MERIC CASAUBON, *On Enthusiasm*, p. ii. &c. Others, as VAN DALE in his *Treatise de Oraculis*, and JORTIN, (*Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 84—116, ed. 1803) agree in the main with SELDEN (*Table Talk*, p. 94, *Sharpe's ed.*) that "Oracles ceased presently after CHRIST as soon as nobody believed them. Just as we have no fortune-tellers, nor wise men, when nobody cares for them; and sometimes you have a reason for them, when people believe them: and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the devil." A more judicious course than either, is that of MOSHEIM, who thinks that there are strong reasons to believe that most of the oracles were the fruits of priestly fraud and popular superstition; yet that others prevent his denying that occasionally demoniacal influence was employed to support the fraud and nourish the superstition. *Hist. Eccles. Majora.* Sæc. I. Pass. I. Cap. i. §16.]

ⁱ 2 Thess. ii. 8.

^k [JEWELL adds, in the *Defence*: "'It is no new practice,' ye

tures : neither do we reason with the sword; but with the word of God : and "therewith," as saith TERTULIAN, "do we feed our faith ; by it do we stir up our hope, and strengthen our confidence."¹ For we know that the gospel of JESUS CHRIST is "the power of God unto salvation,"² and therein consisteth eternal life. And, as Paul warneth us,³ we do not hear, no, not an angel of God, though he come from heaven, if he go about to pull us from any part of this doctrine. [Yea,

say, 'to kill heretics.' I grant you. Neither is it a new practice to condemn godly men by the name of heretics. Your fathers sometime cried out against CHRIST, the SON OF GOD, 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die.' (John xix. 7.) And CHRIST himself said sometime to Jerusalem, the city of blood, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee !' But AUGUSTINE saith : 'Nullis bonis in catholica hoc placet, si usque ad mortem in quenquam, licet hæreticum, sæviatur.' 'It seemeth good unto no good man in the catholic Church, that cruelty unto death be showed unto any man, though he be a heretic.' (*Cont. Cresc. Gram. Lib. III. c. I.*)

"As for our part, we were never yet guilty to one drop of your blood. We seek no aid of fire or sword. We will rather say, with JEROME : 'Utinam filios hæreticorum,' &c. 'Would God we may rather kill the children of heretics, and of all them that be deceived, with spiritual arrows; that is to say, with the testimonies of Scriptures.' (*In Esai.*) And with S. AUGUSTINE : 'O, si occidas,' &c. 'O that thou wouldest kill them, O LORD, with the two-edged sword,' (that is, with thy holy word) 'that they may be no longer thine enemies; for so I wish them to be killed unto themselves, that they may live unto thee.' (*Confess. Lib. XII. c. xiv.*) And again : 'Vindictæ DEUS,' &c. 'God so revenge our cause against you, that he may kill your error in you, that ye may rejoice together with us of the truth.' (Epist. 166.) This, M. Harding, this is the revenge that we seek upon you, as this day it may appear." p. 431 s.

The passage is valuable, not only as an expression of correct sentiment, but also, as a transcript of the mind of one, at least, who, in an age of intolerance, deprecated the extension of persecution to its utmost limits.—That the Reformers 'were never guilty of one drop of the blood of the Papists, may be true of their intentions—but hardly corresponds with fact. At different times in the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth, the blood of Papists was shed by Protestant authorities, and that on account of their faith. Yet, in the reign of Henry, the Reformation is hardly chargeable with the bloody deeds of that capricious arbiter of opinion : and under Elizabeth, the few Papists who did suffer, suffered not as *heretics*, but as violators of the public laws. The distinction, indeed, is a nice one : let it pass for what it is worth. The times are gone by when it was important to settle its precise value.]

¹ "Ex illo fidem alimus; ex illo spem evigimus; ex illo fiduciam firmamus."

² Rom. i. 16.

³ Gal. i. 8.

as that most holy man JUSTIN MARTYR said of himself, we would not believe God himself, if he should teach us another gospel.]° For where these men bid the holy Scriptures away as dumb and fruitless, and procure us to come to God himself rather, who speaketh in the Church and in their Councils—that is to say, to believe their fancies and opinions—this way of finding out the truth is very uncertain, and exceeding dangerous, and in manner a fantastical and mad way, and by no means allowed of the holy fathers.º CHRYSOSTOM saith: “There be many oftentimes which boast themselves of the HOLY GHOST: but truly whoso speak of their own head, do falsely boast that they have the SPIRIT OF GOD.” “For like as” saith he, “CHRIST denied he spake of himself, when he spake out of the Law and Prophets; even so now, if any thing be pressed upon us in the name of the HOLY GHOST, save the gospel, we ought not to believe it. For as CHRIST is the fulfilling of the Law and Prophets, so is the HOLY GHOST the fulfilling of the gospel.” Thus far goeth CHRYSOSTOM.

° [The passage in brackets is inserted from the translation in the *Fathers of the Church of England*. Although in the original Latin, it is not given in the text of the ‘Apology’ printed by JEWELL with his ‘Defence.’ Probably his better judgment inclined him to omit an overstrained expression which it would have been difficult to defend.]

º [“Neither do we *despise* the authority of Councils. Good Councils be grave, and reverend. But thus we say: Councils are often against Councils. And if we make reckoning of number, the Arian heretics have had more councils than the Christians. JEROME saith: ‘SPIRITUS SANCTI doctrina,’ &c. ‘That is the doctrine of the HOLY GHOST, that is set abroad in the canonical Scriptures: against which doctrine if Councils determine any thing, *I think it wicked.*’ (In *Epist. ad Galat.*)—And to increase the uncertainty hereof, the whole weight and judgment of Councils hangeth now evermore [he means, of course, in the opinion of the Church of Rome,] upon the Pope: as it may appear by these words of the conclusion of the late Chapter [Council] of Trent: ‘Salva semper in omnibus sedis Apostolicæ autoritate.’ ‘The authority of the Apostolic See in all things evermore reserved.’ (Conc. *Trid.* Sess. vi.) Whereby it appeareth, that the determination of matters hangeth not of the Council, but of the Pope. But PLATINA saith: ‘Acta priorum Pontificum sequentes Pontifices semper aut infringunt, aut omnino tollunt.’ ‘The Popes that follow do evermore either break, or wholly abrogate, the decrees of the Popes that were before.’ (In *Stephano.*) And thus being turned from all other bishops unto Councils, from Councils unto the Pope, and from one Pope to another, we shall evermore build upon sand, and uncertainty, and never be assured where to stand.” *Defence*, p. 433 s.]

CHAPTER IX.

The Fathers and Councils not opposed to Protestants.

Section 1. But here I look they will say, Though they have not the Scriptures, yet it may chance they have the *ancient doctors* [teachers] and the *holy fathers* with them. For this is a high brag they have ever made, how that all antiquity, and a *continual consent* of all ages, doth make on their side: and that all our cases be but *new*, and yesterday's work; and until these few late years were never heard of.

Questionless, there can nothing be more spitefully spoken against the religion of God, than to accuse it of *novelty*, as a matter lately found out: for as there can be no change in God himself, so ought there to be no change in his religion.¹

Yet nevertheless, we wot not by what means, but we have ever seen it come to pass, from the first beginning, that as often as God did give but some light, and open his truth unto men; though the truth were not only of greatest antiquity, but also from everlasting; yet of wicked men, and of the adversaries, it was called *new-fangled*, and of late devised.² That ungra-

¹ ["The truth of God neither is furthered by the face of antiquity, nor hindered by the opinion of novelty. For often times the thing that indeed is new, is condemned as old: and the thing that indeed is old, is condemned as new. If newness in religion in all respects and every where were ill, CHRIST would not have resembled his doctrine to 'new wine,' (*Matth.* ix. 17;) nor would he have said unto his disciples, 'A new commandment I give unto you,' (*John* xiii. 34;) neither would he have called the 'cup of thanksgiving' 'the new testament in his blood.' (*Luke* xxii. 20.) ARNOBIUS saith: (*Contra Gentes*, Lib. II.) 'Religionis autoritas non est tempore æstimanda, sed numine: nec quo die, sed quid colere cœperis, intueri convenit. Quod verum est, serum non est.' 'The authority of religion must be weighed by God, [by the certainty of its divine origin,] and not by time. It behoveth us to consider, not upon what day, but what thing we began to worship. *The thing that is true, is never too late.*' " *Defence*, p. 436.]

² ["Ye say, 'They were infidels only, that charged the religion of CHRIST with novelty.' And further ye say, 'We tell them, that all new doctrine now in the Church of CHRIST is naught.' Hereto, M. Harding, we soon agree. And therefore we tell you, that your new

cious' and blood-thirsty Haman, when he sought to procure the king Ahasuerus' displeasure against the Jews, used this accusation against them: "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom: and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws."¹ When Paul also, began first to preach and expound the gospel at Athens, he was called "a setter forth of strange gods"²—as much as to say, of a new religion; for said the Athenians, "May we not know of thee what this *new doctrine*, of which thou speakest, is?"³ CELSUS likewise, when he of set purpose wrote against CHRIST, to the end he might more scornfully scoff out the gospel by the name of *novelty*: "What," saith he, "hath GOD after so many ages now at last, and so late, bethought himself?"⁴ EUSEBIUS also writeth, that the Christian religion, from the beginning, for very spite, was called *νέα καὶ ξένη*, that is to say, *new and strange*.⁵

Sect. 2. After like sort, these men condemn all our matters as *strange* and *new*: but they will have their own, whatsoever they are, to be praised as things of long continuance. Wherein they do much like to the conjurers and sorcerers now-a-days, who working with devils,⁶ use to say, They have their books and all their holy and hid mysteries from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, Adam, and from the Archangel Raphael; to the end that their cunning⁷ being thought to come from

fantasies, which ye have painted with the colour of *ancienty*, and therewith have deceived the world, are naught. As for us, we have planted no *new religion*; but only have renewed the old, that was undoubtedly founded and used by the Apostles of CHRIST, and other holy fathers in the primitive Church, and of this late time, by means of your traditions and vanities, hath been drowned." *Defence*, p. 436.]

¹ [The word 'ungracious' is here used to signify *impious*; the original Latin being 'impius.' So the word 'gracious' came into very common use among the Puritans, to express the possession of Christian graces.]

² Esther iii. 8.

³ Acts xvii. 18.

⁴ Acts xvii. 19.

⁵ ORIGEN *contra Celsum*.

⁶ EUSEBI *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. I. c. iv. init. et fin.

⁷ [It seems that JEWELL was not free from the superstitions of his age concerning witchcraft.]

⁸ [Cunning—skill; science. So in Ps. cxxxvii. 5.]

such patrons and founders, might be judged the more high and holy. After the same manner, these men, because they would have their own religion, which they themselves, and that not long since, have brought forth into the world, to be the more easily and rather accepted of foolish persons, or of such as cast little whereabout they or others do go; they are wont to say, They had it from AUGUSTIN, JEROME, CHRYSOSTOM, from the Apostles, and from CHRIST himself. Full well know they, that nothing is more in the people's favour, or better liketh the common sort, than these names.*

Sect. 3. But how if the things which these men are so desirous to have seem *new*, be found of greatest antiquity? Contrariwise, how if all the things well nigh, which they so greatly set forth with the name of *antiquity*, having been well and thoroughly examined, be at length found to be but new, and devised of very late? Soothly to say, no man that hath a true and right consideration, would think the Jews' laws and ceremonies

* ["The Bishop of Sidon, in the late diet of the Empire holden at Augusta [Augsburg] avouched openly, that ye had your whole *Canon* [of the Mass] from the Apostles of CHRIST, word by word, even as it is peevishly written in your Mass-books. ANDREUS BARBATUS proveth the antiquity of the *Cardinals* of Rome by these words, written in the first book of Kings [1 Sam. ii. 8.] 'Domini sunt cardines terræ: et posuit super eos orbem.' [This is the Vulgate version, recognized as of equal authority with the Hebrew by the Church of Rome.] 'The corners of the earth are the LORD's; and upon them hath he set the world.' Abbot *Panormitan* saith: 'Cardinalatus est de jure divino: quia Papa per sacerdotes Leviticos intelligit Cardinales.' 'The Cardinalate is of divine right: because the Pope by the Levitical priests understands Cardinals.' HOSIUS seemeth to say, that Monks have their beginning even from the Apostles; meaning thereby, as one of your companions there doth, in favour, I trow, of religion, that CHRIST himself was the Abbot: for thus he saith: 'CHRISTUS dux et exemplar vitæ monasticæ.' 'CHRIST was the captain and exemplar of the Monastic life.' (in *Confess. Petricov.* c. 88.) And yet the same man afterward, as having forgotten his former dream, utterly displaceth CHRIST, and giveth the whole honour hereof unto Elijah and Elisha. These be his words: 'Elias et Elizeus duces instituti Benedictini.' 'Elijah and Elisha were the leaders of the order of St. Benedict,' that is to say, they were *Black Monks*. By like wisdom ye would seem to fetch your *holy water* from Elisha; your *Cardinal's hat* from S. Jerome; your *Monk's cowl* from S. Augustine. This was sometime a jolly good way to win credit; specially while whatsoever ye said the people was ready to give you ear." *Defence*, p. 441.]

to be new indeed, for all Haman's accusation. For they were graven in very ancient tables of greatest antiquity. And although many did take CHRIST to have swerved from Abraham and the old fathers, and to have brought in a certain new religion in his own name, yet answered he them directly: "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me;"^b i. e. my doctrine is not so new as you make it; for Moses, an author of greatest antiquity, and one to whom ye give all honour, hath spoken of me. St. Paul likewise; though the gospel of JESUS CHRIST be of many counted to be but new, yet hath it, saith he, a testimony most old, "being witnessed by the law and the prophets." As for our doctrine, which we may more rightly call CHRIST's *catholic doctrine*; it is so far off from new, that God, who is above all most ancient, and the FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, hath left the same unto us, in the gospel, in the prophets and Apostles' works, being monuments of greatest age. So that no man can now think our doctrine to be *new*; unless the same think either the prophets' faith, or the gospel, or else CHRIST himself, to be new.

Sect. 4. And as for their religion, if it be of so long continuance as they would have men ween it is, why do they not prove it so by the examples of the primitive Church, and by the fathers and councils of old times? Why lieth so ancient a cause thus long in the dust, destitute of any advocate? Fire and sword they have always ready at hand: but as for the old councils and fathers, all mum—not a word. They did surely against all reason, to begin first with these so bloody and extreme means, if they could have found other more easy and gentle ways.

And if they trust so fully to antiquity, and use no dissimulation, why did JOHN CLEMENT,^d a countryman

^b John v. 46.

^c Rom. iii. 21.

^d [This JOHN CLEMENT was probably the CLEMENT who was among the friends of the learned ERASMUS, belonged to Cardinal WORSEY's family, and, with some other papists, was excepted from a general pardon granted by Edward VI. in 1552. (JORTIN's *Life of Erasmus*, Vol. I. p. 81, 140.) If so, however censurable his bigotry, he deserves

of ours, but few years past, in the presence of certain honest men and of good credit,^e tear and cast into the fire certain leaves of THEODORET, the most ancient father,^f and a Greek bishop, wherein he plainly and evidently taught that the nature of bread in the communion is not changed, or abolished, or brought to nothing? And this he did of purpose, because he thought there was none other copy thereof to be found. Why saith ALBERT PIGHIUS that the ancient father S. AUGUSTINE had a wrong opinion of *original sin*?^g and that he erred, and lied, and used false logic, as touching the case of matrimony concluded after a vow made: which S. AUGUSTINE affirmeth to be perfect indeed, and that it may not be undone again, the vow and promise notwithstanding.^h Also, when they did of late put in print the ancient father ORIGEN's work *upon the Gospel of St. John*,ⁱ why left they quite out the whole sixth chapter, wherein it is likely, yea, rather of

the praise of having been one of the most efficient promoters of the study of the Greek language in England. He was a physician by profession, and was the first worthy successor of the illustrious LINACER, of the same profession, in teaching Greek at Oxford. He was the first professor in the Rhetoric lecture founded by Cardinal Wolsey in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he resigned the chair in 1519, to devote himself exclusively to medicine. ERASMUS has spoken of him in terms of warm commendation.]

^e ["This report was made in the presence and hearing of M. PETER MARTYR, and sundry other learned men, of whom certain are yet alive. The reporter was both a learned man and a grave father, and not long since a bishop in England: who said, he was present, and saw the thing done with his eyes." *Defence*, p. 443.]

^f [This assertion must be taken with a grain of allowance; for THEODORET flourished only in the first half of the *fifth* century—at least a century too late to be possessed of much value as a *father*. See note ^a, p. 57.]

^g "Quod Augustini sententia non solum incerta, sed etiam certo falsa sit, satis mihi demonstratum videtur—non multum me movet Augustini sententia: mihi non placet Augustini ea de re definitio." ALB. PIGHIUS, *Lib. Prim. de controversiis. De Pecc. Orig.*

^h [*Distinct. 27. Quidam.*—AUGUST. *De Bono Viduitatis*, c. x.—*Causa XXVII. Quæst. i. c. 41.*

ⁱ [He probably refers to the Latin translation of ORIGEN's *Commentary on John*, published by the monk PERIONIUS, of which POSSEVIN, a zealous Romanist, acknowledges that it is in many places mutilated, disconnected, and interpolated: (*Apparat. To. II. p. 190*) although he throws the blame upon the Greek manuscript from which the translation was made. HURT, Bishop of Avranches, first published the Greek text of ORIGEN's *Commentaries*, in 1668.]

very surety, that the said ORIGEN had written many things concerning the sacrament of the holy Communion contrary to these men's minds;* and would rather put forth that book mangled, than full and perfect, for fear it should reprove them and their partners of their error?† Call ye this trusting to antiquity; when ye rend in pieces, keep back, maim, and burn the ancient fathers?

Sect. 5. It is a world to see how well-favouredly, and how towardly, touching religion, these men agree with the fathers, of whom they use to vaunt, they be their own good [their property]!

The old *Council Eliberine* made a decree, "that nothing that is honoured of the people should be painted in churches."^m The old father EPIPHANIUS saith,

* [BUCER, in his *Commentary* on John vi. is said by Father SIMON, (*Lettres Choïsies*, p. 98) to have cited passages from ORIGEN at variance with the Romish tenets, and which GENEBRARD, a subsequent Romish editor of ORIGEN's works, charged him with falsifying.]

† [A learned and valuable work *On the Corruptions of the Fathers*, left imperfect by its author, the Rev. THOMAS JAMES, and published many years after his death, in 1686, has for its sole object the detection and exposure of corruptions of the fathers made by Romanists, either in their printed editions, or in citations. More than three hundred such are enumerated.]

^m [The Council of Eliberia (or Grenada) in Spain, was held about the year 300. Its canons have acquired a greater degree of celebrity than usual for those of provincial councils.]

In reply to this paragraph, Harding urged a counter authority: "You say, 'The second General Nicene Council allowed well the devout use of images,' and a General Council ought to take place before a provincial: for that in a General Council there are many bishops; in a provincial there are but few. Thus, I see, ye weigh your religion, not by truth, but by company. Howbeit, this rule is very loose, and may soon deceive you.

"Good Christian reader, let no man beguile thee by colour of *Councils*. Read this *second Nicene Council* throughout, if thou be able. Thou wilt say, there was never any assembly of Christian bishops so vain, so peevish, so wicked, so blasphemous, so unworthy in all respects to be called a *council*. The blessed bishops there agreed together, with one consent, that images in churches are not only to be allowed, but also devoutly and reverently to be honoured, and that *with the same honour that is due to God himself*. (*Conc. Nicen. II. Act 2.*) This 'holy council,' ye say, 'decreed against *image-breakers*. But the counsel of God decreeth against *image-worshippers* and *image-makers*. AUGUSTIN saith: 'Sic omnino errare,' &c. 'Thus exactly they deserved to be deceived, who sought CHRIST and his Apo-

"It is a horrible wickedness, and a sin not to be suffered, for any man to set up any picture in the church of the Christians; yea, though it were the picture of CHRIST himself."^a—Yet these men store all their tem-

tles, not in the books of holy Scripture, but in painted walls. Nor is it strange, if feigners were deceived by painters.' (*De Consensu Evang.* Lib. I. c. 10.)—*Defence*, p. 446 s.

The application of this passage from AUSTIN is happy; and the censure passed on the council just. This pretended General Council (reckoned as the *seventh* by the Church of Rome) consisted of 350 bishops, hastily convoked by the Empress Irene for the sanction of her tenets, in 787.]

^a ["The words of the original be these: 'Inveni ibi velum,' &c. 'I found there a veil hanging at the entry of the church, stained and painted, and having the image, as it were, of CHRIST, or of some saint:—for whose picture it was, indeed, I do not remember. Therefore when I saw the image of a man to hang in the church of CHRIST, contrary to the commandment of the Scriptures, I tare it in sunder, and gave counsel to the wardens of that church, that they should wind and bury some poor body in it, &c. I beseech you, charge the priests of that place, that they give commandment, that such veils as be contrary to our religion be no more hanged up in the church of CHRIST. It behoveth your reverence to have care hercof, that this superstition, unmeet for the church of CHRIST, and unmeet for the people to thee committed, be removed.' EPIPHANIUS, *Epist. ad Johan. Hierosolymtan.* apud HIERONYM. Tom. II.

"The ancient fathers have long since determined and plainly judged against you. LACTANTIUS saith in plain words: 'Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulachrum est.' 'It is without doubt, that there is no religion, wherever there is an image.' (Lib. II. c. xix.) TERTULLIAN saith: 'Idolum tam fieri, quam coli, DEUS prohibet. Quanto præcedit, ut fiat quod coli possit, tanto prius est, ne fiat, si coli non licet.'—'Facio, ait quidam, sed non colo: quasi ob aliquam causam colere non audeat nisi ob quam et facere non debeat: scilicet, ob DEI offensam utrobique. Imo tu colis, qui facis ut coli possit.' 'God hath forbidden an image, or an idol, as well to be made, as to be worshipped. As far as making goeth before worshipping, so far is it before, that the thing be not made, that may not be worshipped.'—'Some man will say, I make it, but worship it not:—as though he durst not to worship it for any other cause, but only for the same cause for which he ought not to make it. I mean both ways, for God's displeasure. Nay, rather, thou worshippingst the image, that giveth the cause for others to worship it.' (*De Idololatria*, c. 4 init. c. 6.)

"Therefore S. AUGUSTIN, speaking of the image of God the FATHER, saith thus: 'Tale simulachrum DEO fingere, nefarium est: 'To devise such an image for God, it is abominable.' (*De Fide et Symbolo*, c. 7.) THEODORUS the Bishop of Ancyra saith: 'Sanctorum imagines,' &c. 'We think it not convenient to paint the images of saints with material or earthly colours. For it is evident that this is a vain imagination, and the procurement of the deceitfulness of the devil.' (*Citatur in Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 6.*) To like purpose writeth EPIPHANIUS: 'Estote memores,' &c. 'My children, be ye mindful

ples, and each corner of them, with painted and carved images; as though without them religion were nothing worth.

The old fathers, ORIGEN^o and CHRYSOSTOM, exhort

that ye bring no images into the churches, and that ye erect none in the cemeteries of the saints. But evermore carry God in your hearts. Nay, suffer not images to be, no, not in your private houses. For it is not lawful to lead a Christian man by his eyes, but rather by the study or exercise of his mind.' " *Defence*, p. 448.]

^o ORIGEN in *Levit.* Cap. 16.—[ORIGEN flourished in the first half of the third century. At the early age of eighteen he succeeded Clement of Alexandria in the responsible station of catechist in that city. He taught the elements both of philosophy and religion to a large concourse of hearers, with great success. In 211 he visited Rome; and on his return published several of his writings. His growing reputation, enhanced by the exemplary holiness of his life, procured him the jealousy of his bishop, Demetrius, which manifested itself in a long series of persecutions. About the year 220 he was invited by Mamaea, the mother of the emperor Alexander Severus, to visit Antioch, for the purpose of instructing her in the principles of Christianity. In the forty-second year of his age he was ordained presbyter, on his return from a visit to Achaia, by some bishops of Palestine, without the knowledge of his own diocesan. This involved him in fresh difficulties, which ended in his expulsion from the diocese in 231. He settled at Cæsarea in Palestine, where he taught a numerous assemblage of scholars, attracted by his reputation. He travelled subsequently to Athens, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Arabia, on various ecclesiastical errands. In the Decian persecution (A. D. 250) he suffered the extremities of torture with noble constancy. He died, aged 69, at Tyre, in 254.

The character of the most learned of Christian writers, either before or since his time, until the revival of learning, unquestionably belongs to ORIGEN. He alone, among the fathers, was intimately and critically acquainted with the Old Testament, in its original language: and he left a monument of his abilities and his industry in this branch of study, in the *Hexapla*,—a sort of Polyglot, composed of the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, the same in Greek characters, and four (afterwards increased to seven) Greek versions, all arranged in parallel columns. One of these columns contained the Septuagint version carefully revised by the Hebrew, and corrected from it and the other versions, with certain critical marks indicating the nature and value of its various discrepancies from the original. Beside this stupendous work, ORIGEN left a vast number of other writings—Sermons, Commentaries, Controversial Treatises, and Practical Discourses; a great part of which have perished, although some of the most important have escaped. The *Hexapla* exists only in scattered fragments, collected by the industry of moderns from the writings of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

ORIGEN, with all his talent, learning, and piety, is by no means a safe guide in theology or Scriptural interpretation. In both, he indulged the imaginative faculty much too freely; and while on the one hand he built untenable theories on speculations of his own, wholly

the people to read the Scriptures ;^p to buy them books ; to reason at home betwixt themselves of divine matters, wives with their husbands, and parents with their children.^q—These men condemn the Scriptures as ‘ dead elements,’ and as much as ever they may, bar the people from them.

The ancient fathers, CYPRIAN,^r EPIPHANIUS,^s and JEROME^t say, for one who perchance hath made a vow to lead a sole life, and afterwards liveth unchastely and cannot quench the flames of lust, it is better to marry a wife, and to live honestly in wedlock. And the old father AUGUSTIN^u judgeth the self same marriage to be good, and perfect, and that it ought not to be broken again.—These men, if a man have once bound himself by a vow, though afterwards he burn, keep queans, and defile himself with never so sinful and desperate a life, yet they suffer not that person to marry a wife : or if he chance to marry, they allow it not for marriage. And they commonly teach, It is much better and more godly to keep a concubine, or a harlot, than to live in that kind of marriage.

The old father S. AUGUSTIN complaineth^v of the mul-

destitute of foundation, on the other he strained the Scriptures into allegorical and mystical meanings which they were never designed to bear. His writings excited much disturbance in the Church ; producing two organized factions, friendly, and opposed to them, which continued more or less prominent during nearly three centuries.]

^p CHRYSOST. *Hom. 2 in Matth. Hom. 31 in Joannem.*

^q [“Such sayings are common and ordinary in CHRYSOSTOM. Thus he saith : ‘ Librum divinum,’ &c. ‘ Let one of you take in hand the holy book, and let him call his neighbours about him : and by the heavenly words let him water and refresh both their minds and his own.’ (*Hom. 6. in Genes.*) Again he saith : ‘ Poterimus et domi,’ &c. ‘ Being at home, we may both before and after meat take the holy books in hand, and thereof receive great profit, and minister spiritual food unto our soul.’ (*Hom. 10 in Genes.*) Thus also he saith : ‘ Neque in hoc,’ &c. ‘ Harken not hereto only here in the church, but also at home. Let the husband with the wife—let the father with the child—talk together of those matters ; and both to and fro let them both inquire, and give their judgments. And would God they would begin this good custom!’ (*Hom. 2 in Johan.—Hom. 78 in Matth.*)”—*Defence*, p. 449.]

^r CYPRIAN. *Epist. 11. Lib. I.*

^s EPIPHAN. *contra Apostolicos, Heres. 61.*

^t HIERONYM. *ad Demetriadem.*

^u AUGUSTIN. *de Bono Viduitatis*, c. 10.

^v AUGUSTIN. *ad Januar. Epist. 118.*

titude of vain ceremonies, wherewith he even then saw men's minds and consciences overcharg'd.—These men, as though God regarded nothing else but their ceremonies, have so out of measure increased them, that there is now almost none other thing left in their churches, and places of prayer.

Again, that old father AUGUSTIN^w denieth it to be lawful for a monk to spend his time slothfully in idleness; and, under a pretended and counterfeit holiness, to live all upon others. And whoso thus liveth, the old father APOLLONIUS^x likeneth him unto a thief.—These men have—I wot not whether to call them droves or herds—of monks, who for all that they do nothing, nor yet once intend to bear any show of holiness, yet live they not only upon others, but also riot lavishly of other folks' labours.'

^w 'Isti non Deo serviunt, sed suo ventri.' 'These serve, not God, but their own belly.' (*De Opere Monach.* c. 12.)—'Non apparet utrum ex proposito servitutis Dei venerint, an vitam inopem et laboriosam fugientes, vacui pasci et vestiri voluerint.' 'We cannot tell whether they became monks for purpose to serve God, or else being weary of their poor and painful life, were rather desirous to be fed and clothed doing nothing.' (*Ibid.* c. 22.) The alms obtained, he calls: 'Sumptus lucrosæ egestatis, et simulatæ pretium sanctitatis.' 'The charges of gainful poverty, and price of feigned holiness.' (*Ibid.* c. 28.)

^x Cited by SOCRATES, in *Historia Tripartita*, [a translated compilation of SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, and THEODORET, made by EPIPHANIUS] Lib. VIII. c. i.

^y [After quoting several passages from AUGUSTIN, HILARY, and JEROME, to show the spirit of monkery in their day, JEWELL goes on: "And lest ye should think we speak only of old foreign faults; and that all such things since those days have been reformed; NICOLAS CUSANUS, a Cardinal of Rome, one of your new doctors, saith: 'Vix fallacia illorum,' &c. 'The deceitfulness of them that show themselves under the apparel of CHRIST, because of their variety, can hardly be known. For one of them saith, He serveth CHRIST under one weed; another, under another. Notwithstanding, they all for the most part seek their own, and not the things that pertain to CHRIST JESUS. For they are all given to covetousness, from the greatest to the least. And yet in all these diversities, by this mark or doctrine ye may descry their falsehood; By their works ye shall know them.' (*Exercit.* Lib. 7. Moneta.)

"Ye say, 'Monks now serve the altar and minister sacraments: and therefore are not bound to bodily labour.' This is a fair colour to shadow their idleness. For who ever bad monks to 'serve the altar,' or gave them authority to minister sacraments? What doctor? What father? What ancient council? In old times it was not lawful for a monk to be a priest. S. GREGORY [the Great, or I.] saith: 'Nemo potest ecclesiasticis officiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinatè persistere.' 'No man can serve the ecclesiastical office, and orderly

The old *Council of Rome* decreed, that no man should come to the service said by a priest well known to keep a concubine.^a—These men let concubines to farm to their priests, and yet constrain men by force, against their will, to hear their cursed paltry service.^a

The old *Canons of the Apostles*^b command that bishop to be removed from his office, which will supply the place both of a civil magistrate and also of an ecclesiastical person.^c—These men, for all that, both do and

keep the monastic rule.' (in xvi. *Quæst.* 1. Nemo.)"—After quoting several passages from JEROME, (in the Canon Law) AUGUSTIN, and BERNARD, to the same effect, JEWELL goes on: "The first suppressors of monasteries within this realm, in our memory, were two of your dearest friends, Cardinal Wolsey, and Doctor Fisher, the bishop of Rochester: either of them well warranted thereto by the authority of the Pope. Long before that time, the godly learned bishop Letoius overthrew and burned the Thessalians' monasteries, and said they were (σπήλαια ληστικὰ) dens of thieves: and, as THEODORET reporteth, 'chased the wolves away from the fold;' (τοὺς λύκους ἐκ τῆς πόμνης ἐξήλασε. *Eccl. Hist.* Lib. IV. c. xi.)—Of late years, sundry of the cardinals of Rome, among whom also was Cardinal POLE, being specially appointed in commission by Pope Paul III. to view the disorders and deformities of the Church, returned their answer in this sort: 'Alius abusus,' &c. 'Another abuse there is to be reformed in the orders of monks and friars. For many of them are so vile, that they are a shame unto the seculars: and with their example do much ill. As for conventual orders, we think it good they be all abolished.' (*Concil.* Tom. III. Con. Delector. Cardinal. p. 822.)"—*Defence*, p. 450.]

^a *Concil. Rom.* c. 3.—["The Council of Rome, holden there under Pope Nicolas the Second [A. D. 1059]. Which, although it be not so old as may be compared with the ancient fathers' councils, yet it is elder than some parts and branches of your new religion." *Defence*, p. 451.]

^a ["Whereas the words of the decree are these: 'Nullus audiat missam presbyteri quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere;' the *Gloss* upon the same saith thus: 'Hic Canon quandoque fuit latæ sententiæ: sed hodie non est.' 'This decrec in old times stood as a ruled case. But now it is not so.'—'Ideò licet notoria sit fornicatio, tamen non est propter eam abstinendum ab officiis presbyterorum.'" *Defence*, p. 451.]

^b [The *Canons of the Apostles*, or *Apostolic Canons*, are spurious, as regards their title. But they are acknowledged to be of great antiquity—to contain the rules by which the Church was governed in the second and third centuries—and to comprise some regulations in all probability first made by the Apostles themselves.]

^c [Can. IV. Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβάνεσθω. ἐι δὲ μήγε, καθαιρεῖσθω. 'Let not a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon, undertake temporal offices. But if any should, let him be expelled.'—It would be difficult to reconcile with this ancient regulation the present practice of the established Church of England; of which the bishops are barons, and a large proportion of the parochial clergy justices of the peace.]

will needs serve both places. Nay rather, the one office, which they ought chiefly to execute, they once touch not : and yet no body commandeth them to be displaced.

The old *Council of Gangra* commandeth, that none should make such difference between an unmarried priest and a married priest, as to think the one more holy than the other for a single life's sake.—These men put such a difference between them, that they straightway think all their holy service to be defiled, if it be done by a good and honest man that hath a wife.^d

The ancient emperor *Justinian*^e commanded,^f that in

^d [The Council of Gangra was held about A. D. 360.—In the *Defence*, JEWELL adduces evidence of the antiquity and universality of the marriage of the clergy, at considerable length. He sums up this evidence as follows : " Thus ye see by your Canonists (*Dist.* 31. *Aliter*. In *Glossa*.) that the priests of the East Church may marry, being in holy orders : by the ancient Council of Ancyra, (*Conc. Ancyran.* Canon 10.) that deacons, after protestation made, might lawfully marry : by CHRYSOSTOM, (*Hom.* 10 in *Ep.* 1 ad *Tim.*—*Hom.* 21 in *Genes.*) that priests and bishops may so take the state of marriage, that it shall be no hindrance to any perfection : by Cardinal CAJETAN, (*in Quodlibetis*.) that, speaking absolutely, a priest offendeth not in marrying a wife, his orders or priesthood notwithstanding : by ANSELM [Archbishop of Canterbury] (*Dialog. Inquisitione prima*) that eleven hundred years after CHRIST, that is to say, until within one hundred years since the Conquest, this matter, notwithstanding it had been much beaten through the world, yet lay still undiscussed : by PANORMITANE (*Extra. de Electione*, C. licet de vitand. abbat.) ERASMUS (*Contra Bedam*, p. 197.) and AGRIPPA (*Contra Loraniens.* Art. 18.) that the priests of Greece marry this day, and that 'sine peccato'—without sin : by others, your own doctors, (*Dist.* 84. Cum in *præterito*. In *Glossa*.) that until the time of Pope Siricius, [A. D. 385.] it was lawful for priests to marry. You see that Moses, being a Christian priest, (*Dist.* 34. Cum in *præterito*.) and Euppsychius, being a Christian bishop and a martyr, (*NICOPHORI Hist. Eccles.* Lib. X. c. x.) took either of them a lawful wife, and so lived in marriage without offence."—*Defence*, p. 458.]

• [JUSTINIAN, more famous for his reformation and consolidation of the Roman civil law, than for the splendid victories of his generals in Africa and Italy, reigned in Constantinople from A. D. 527 to 565. His jurisprudence derived excellence from the sources whence it was compiled ; his military undertakings were crowned with success by the talents and fidelity of his generals ; his civil endowments and public edifices, though numerous and noble, criginated in timid fear of invasion, or prodigal luxury : but the spirit of his own legislation was mercenary and fickle, and his use of the executive authority disgracefully subservient not only to his own avarice and passions, but to those of his wicked wife and vile parasites.—The authority of such a law-giver cannot be esteemed great in any matters : much less in the regulation of religious affairs.]

^f In *Novell. Constit.* 123. 'We command all bishops and priests

the holy administration all things should be pronounced with a clear, loud, and treatable voice; that the people might receive some fruit thereby.—These men, lest the people should understand them, mumble up their service, not only with a drowned and hollow voice, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue.⁶

to minister the holy oblation, &c. not under silence, but with a loud voice.'—[The *Novellæ*, or Novels, form a supplementary portion of the second great division of the Body of Civil Law. The *first* division, is the *Code*, consisting of a revised collection of the ordinances of preceding emperors, nearly answering to our *Statute Law*. The *second* division, called the *Digest* or *Pandects*, contains select decisions and opinions of Roman lawyers, and somewhat resembles, in the nature of its contents, our *Common Law*. The *Novels* are Justinian's own subsequent enactments and decisions, collected in the last year of his reign, and appended to the Digest. The *Institutes*, a compendious abstract, designed to be introductory to the Digest, forms the third great division of the Civil Law.—The *Code* was published in 528; the *Institutes* and *Digest* in 533; the *Novels* at intervals, as occasion called for them, and in a collected body in 566.]

⁶ ["The words 'whispering' and 'mumbling' mislike you much. Yet your own friends entreating hereof have often used the same words. In your late Council of Cologne it is written thus: 'Ut presbyteri preces non tantum ore *murmurent*,' &c. 'That the priests may not only *mumble* up their prayers, but also pronounce them from their hearts, let the Book of the Law, that is to say, the Bible, never be laid from their hands.' (*Conc. Colon. Can. 5. An. 1536.*)

"Ye say, 'We wish the people would learn the mystical Latin tongue.' Ye say, 'the *mystical* Latin tongue.'—Who ever taught you these kinds of *mysteries*? What Scripture? What Council? What doctor? What father? How know you that the Latin tongue, that every child may so commonly, and so easily understand, should be so *mystical*? And wherefore are all other tongues—the Greek, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Arabic, the Italian, the French, the Spanish, the Irish, less *mystical* than the Latin? What have these tongues offended? What hath that tongue deserved? The *tongue* is nothing else but a tongue. It is the *matter* and *meaning* of the words that is *mystical*. S. AUGUSTIN saith: 'Audimus hæc verba, Beata vita,' &c. 'We hear these words, *Blessed Life*, or *The Life to come*. And the thing itself we all confess we desire to have. For we have no pleasure in the sound of the words. For when a Greek heareth these words spoken in Latin, he hath no pleasure in them, because he understandeth not what is spoken. Neither hath the Latin any pleasure, if he hear the same spoken in Greek. For the thing itself is neither Greek nor Latin.' (*Confess. Lib. X. c. xx.*)—Ye 'wish the people would learn the Latin tongue.' No doubt, a worthy and learned wish! Ye might as good cheap, and as well, have wished that all the whole people of all countries would learn to speak Greek and Hebrew. But your meaning is, that until all the ploughmen, and artificers, and labourers of the world be able to understand and to speak your '*mystical* Latin tongue,' they may not in any wise be allowed to understand any parcel of their prayers.—

The old *Council at Carthage* commanded, that nothing should be read in CHRIST's congregation, but the Canonical Scriptures.^b—These men read such things in their churches as themselves know to be stark lies and fond [foolish] fables.¹

"But 'the Latin tongue,' ye say, 'is not *barbarous*': and therein, as your wont is, ye have noted a wonderful great lie in our *Apology*. Yet unto St. Paul that tongue seemeth barbarous, that is unknown unto the hearer, be it Latin, be it Greek. Thus he saith: 'If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a *barbarian*; and he that speaketh' (in what tongue soever he speaketh) 'shall be a *barbarian* unto me.' (1 Cor. xiv. 12.)—S. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Mallet quisque,' &c. 'A man would rather dwell with his dog, than with a man of an unknown tongue.' (*Art. 3. Div. 3. Luv. Vives de tradend. Discipl. L. III. f. 97.*)" *Defence*, p. 460 s.]

^a [This citation is imperfect. The words of the decree of the *Third Council of Carthage*, Cap. 47, as cited by HARDING, are: "Placuit, ut præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine *divinarum Scripturarum*." "It hath seemed good unto us, that besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the name of the *divine Scriptures*;" words which admit, and seem to require, an interpretation different from that put upon them by JEWELL. He admits the error, but pleads: "they are found in the Council of Hippo, which is the abridgment of the Third Council of Carthage, as it appeareth by the title of the same: 'Concilii Hipponensis Abbreviationes facta in Concilio Carthaginiensi Tertio.'"—There is some difficulty here. Councils were held at Hippo in the years 393, 422, and 426. (LUMPER, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 308, 311.) The Third Council of Carthage was held in 397. Now if JEWELL's statement were correct, the Canons of this last *might* have been abridged in either of the two later Councils of Hippo. But the very evidence which he brings in proof of his assertion, is entirely against him: the Latin title which he quotes runs thus, translated: "*The abbreviations of the Council of Hippo, made in the Third Council of Carthage*:"—a statement just the reverse of JEWELL's, but agreeable to the truth. The canons of the first Council of Hippo were abridged in the sixth, commonly called the Third of Carthage, four years subsequent. (CAVE's *Hist. Lit.* Pars II. p. 130.) The Council of Carthage, therefore, must be given up.—As for the Council of Hippo: "Its words be these, 'Scripturæ Canonice in Ecclesia legendæ quæ sunt: et præter quas alia non legantur.' 'The Scriptures Canonical, which are to be read in the Church, and beside which, nothing may be read.' (*Conc. Hippon.* Cap. 38.)—Here may we add the like decree of the Council holden at Laodicea [A. D. 360.]—"Non oportet, &c. 'We may not read any books that be without the Canon, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament.' (*Conc. Laodicen.* Cap. 59.)" *Defence*, p. 462.]

¹ [The Roman *Breviary* is full of the most absurd legends.—JEWELL justifies his assertion by the following citations: "ERASMUS thereof saith thus: 'Hodiè quorumlibet,' &c. 'Now-a-days every fool's dreams, yea, every woman's doting fancies, are read with the holy Scriptures.' (*Annot. in Hieronym. de Eccles. Script.*) Likewise

But if there be any that think these above rehearsed authorities be but weak and slender, because they were decreed by Emperors, and certain petite [petty] bishops, and not by so full and perfect Councils, taking pleasure rather in the authority and name of *the Pope*: let such an one know, that *Pope Julius*^k doth evidently forbid that a priest in ministering the Communion should dip the bread in the cup.^l—These men, contrary to *Pope Julius*' decree, divide the bread, and dip it in the wine.

Pope Clement saith, it is not lawful for a bishop to deal with both swords;^m "For if thou wilt have both," saith he, "thou shalt deceive both thyself and those that obey thee."—Now-a-days the Pope challengeth to himself both swords, and useth both. Wherefore it ought to seem less marvel if that have followed, which *CLEMENT* saith, that is, that "he hath deceived both himself, and those which have given ear unto him."ⁿ

saith *POLYDORE VIRGIL*: 'Multorum Divorum,' &c. 'They read the lives of many saints although written with little attention to the truth.' (*In Oration. Dominic.*) *LUDOVICUS VIVES* writing of your *Legenda Aurea* [Golden Legend] which was the mother of all your devout ecclesiastical stories or fables, saith thus: 'Nescio cur,' &c. 'I know not why it should be called *Golden*; for it must have been written by a man with a forehead of iron, and a heart of lead, and is full of the most impudent lies.' (*LEON. LAVATERUS in Prov. Salomonis*, p. 134.)' *Defence*, p. 463.

ERASMUS, *P. VIRGIL*, and *VIVES*, were all writers of the sixteenth century, Papists until their death, and men of talents, learning, and integrity.]

^k [*JULIUS I.* succeeded *Mark* in the See of Rome, A. D. 337, and filled it until 352. He was a man of learning and piety. Two of his letters to *ATHANASIUS*, whom he warmly supported, are extant in the works of that father, and display considerable ability.]

^l *De Consecrat. Distinct. II. Cum omne crimen.*

^m [That is, the spiritual and the temporal—the power of inflicting both temporal and spiritual penalties.]

ⁿ [The quotation in this paragraph is confused.—"I know not by what error," says *JEWELL*, "in this place two sundry authorities, the one of *CLEMENT*, the other of *S. BERNARD*, were joined in one, and both alleged and set forth under the name only of *CLEMENT*. I grant there was herein an oversight.—The words of *CLEMENT* are as you report them. The words of *S. BERNARD*, written unto *Pope Eugenius*, are these: 'Planum est,' &c. 'It is plain, that unto the Apostles of *CHRIST*, lordship (or temporal princehood) is forbidden. Go thou thy way therefore (thus he saith to *the Pope*) and dare thou to usurp, either the apostleship, being a lord; or the lordship, being an apostle. From one of them undoubtedly thou art forbidden. If thou wilt indif-

Pope Leo saith, "Upon one day it is lawful to say but one Mass in one church."—These men say daily in one church, commonly ten Masses, twenty, thirty, yea, oftentimes more. So that the poor gazer on can scant tell which way he were best to turn himself.

Pope Gelasius saith, it is a wicked deed, and subject to sacrilege, to divide the Communion, and when he hath received one kind, to abstain from the other.^p—These men, contrary to God's word, and contrary to *Pope Gelasius*, command that one kind only of the holy Communion be given to the people: and by so doing, they make their priests guilty of sacrilege.

Sect. 6. But if they will say, that all these things are worn now out of ure (use) and nigh dead, and pertain nothing to these present times: yet to the end all folk may understand what faith is to be given to these men, and upon what hope they call together their General Councils,^q let us see in few words what good heed they take to the self same thing, which they themselves, these very last years, (and the remembrance thereof is yet new and fresh,) in their own General Council that they

ferently have both, thou wilt lose both.' (De Consideratione, Lib. II.)" Defence, p. 465.

HARDING had quoted CLEMENT in Latin. Neither he nor JEWELL have stated to what Clement they refer.—It is the pseudo-Clement in the *Clementines*, *Epist. Clem. ad Jac.* c. vi., where the passage quoted stands: *Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις ἀσχοληθῇς, καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐνδραβεύεις.* 'For if thou be burdened with the cares of this life, thou wilt deceive both thyself and thy hearers.'—Of course the passage is evidence of nothing more than the opinion of some obscure writer of the third or fourth century.]

^o [Leo I., surnamed the Great, one of the most eminent in the Papal list, succeeded to the See of Rome in 440. He bore a signal part in the attempts to settle the disputes with the Pelagians, Priscillianists, Nestorians, and Eutychians. After a busy episcopate, occupied with ecclesiastical feuds and temporal negotiations in the midst of devastating wars, he died in 461. He left a number of works, principally Sermons, which have been published in one folio volume.]

^p *De Consecrat. Distinct. 2. Comperimus.* [See p. 54, note ^m.]

^q [The convocation of a General Council was a constant proposition of the Romish Church, as the means of procuring the reformation, the need of which, in answer to the strong remonstrances of princes of her own communion, she dared not have the hardihood to deny. For a time, a portion of the reformers had sanguine hopes of good results from such a measure. But long before JEWELL wrote, the nature of the pre-

had by order called, have decreed and commanded to be devoutly kept.

In the last Council at Trent, scant fourteen years past, it was ordained by the common consent of all degrees, "That one man should not have two benefices at one time." What is become now of that ordinance? Is the same, too, soon worn out of mind, and clean consumed? For these men, ye see, give to one man, not two benefices only, but sundry Abbeyes many times; sometimes also two bishoprics, sometime three, sometime four; and that not only to an unlearned man, but oftentimes also even to men of war.

In the said Council a decree was made, that "all bishops should preach the gospel."—These men neither preach, nor once go up into the pulpit; neither think they it any part of their office.

parations for the Council held at Trent had undeceived them; and the decrees of that Council had proved the resolution of the Papal See to retain the whole mass of its corruptions.]

† ["Nemo quacunq̃ue etiam dignitate, gradu, aut præminētia præfulgens, plures Metropolitanas seu Cathedralēs Ecclesias, in titulum, seu commendam, aut alio quovis nomine—retinere præsumat." *Sessio vii. De Reform. cap. 2.*]

‡ [An *Abbey* or *Abbay* is the presidency of a monastery. Many of the Abbots of the larger monasteries are possessed of large revenues; exempted from episcopal jurisdiction; entitled to wear the mitre, and to a seat in provincial councils; and in short very little inferior, either in power or dignity, to bishops.]

§ [Cardinal DE LUCA, in his *Annotationes ad S. S. Conc. Trident.*, a work bound up with the best editions of the Decrees of that Council, avows this explicitly. "Adhuc tamen, *ista decreto non obstante*, firma remansit plurimum Metropolitanarum, vel Cathedralium antiqua unio,—ut frequens in Italia hujusmodi unionum usus habetur." *Annot. Disc. vii. § 3. p. 30. ed. Col. 1722.*]

¶ ["Statuit et decrevit sancta Synodus, omnes episcopos, archiepiscopos, primates, et omnes ecclesiarum prælatos teneri per seipsos, si legitime impediti non fuerint, ad prædicandum sanctum JESU CHRISTI evangelium." *Sessio V. De Reformat. Cap. 2.*]

‡ [The acknowledgment of the Cardinal DE LUCA is not less explicit in this case than in the preceding; and is even amusing by its naivete: "*Rarius autem hodie in episcopis et archiepiscopis usus est prædicationis per seipsos, sed illud expleant in statutis Adventus et Quadragesimæ temporibus per concionatores, qui ex peculiari studio ac professione id agunt.*"—"At the present day bishops and archbishops rarely preach in their own person, but at the appointed seasons of Advent and Lent, they fulfil the duty by preachers who make it their peculiar study and profession!" *Annot. &c. Discurs. iii. § 2. p. 12.*—It is related of one who thus 'fulfilled the duty', that being asked Who fed his

What great pomp and crake, [boasting,] then, is this they make of antiquity? Why brag they so of the names of the ancient fathers, and of the New and Old Councils? Why will they seem to trust to their authority, whom, when they list, they despise at their pleasure?

Sect. 7. But I have a special fancy to commune a word or two rather with the Pope's good holiness, and to say these things unto his own face:—Tell us, I pray you, good holy father, seeing ye do crake so much of all *antiquity*, and boast yourself that all men are bound to you alone; which of all the fathers have at any time called you by the name of the *Highest Prelate*, the *Universal Bishop*, or the *Head of the Universal Church*?—Which of the ancient fathers or doctors

spiritual flock? he replied that he did it by proxy. 'But if your deputy should do it ill, and your people's souls be lost, will you be damned by proxy? was the rejoinder.]

¶ ["Ye answer us, 'S. JEROME so called him, in the book *Contra Luciferianos*. For his words be plain *Summus Sacerdos*.'—But what if it be found, that these words belong no more to the Pope, than to any other particular bishop?—Call to your remembrance, M. Harding, your own words, uttered, not elsewhere, but even in this self same book. The words of S. JEROME be these: 'The safety of the Church hangeth upon the dignity of the *highest priest*.' Hereupon ye say: 'This peerless authority S. JEROME in that place doth attribute to the bishop of every diocese.' (M. HARD. p. 204 b.) And thus, by M. Harding's own exposition, not only the Pope, but also the bishop of any other diocese, is called by S. JEROME the *highest priest*.—But, for thy better satisfaction, good Christian reader, it is well known to any mean student in divinity, that not only the *bishop of Rome*, but also every other *bishop*, within his own diocese was commonly called the *highest priest*, for that, within his own diocese, of all other priests he was the *highest*. TERTULLIAN saith: 'Dandi baptismum jus habet *summus sacerdos*, qui est episcopus.' 'The *highest priest*, that is, the bishop, hath authority to minister baptism.' (*De Baptismo*, c. xvii.) S. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Quid est episcopus, nisi *primus presbyter*, hoc est, *summus sacerdos*?' 'What is the bishop, but the *first presbyter*, that is, the *high priest*?' (*Quæst. ex utroque Test.* Quæst. 101.) S. AMBROSE, writing not unto the Pope, but unto Felix the bishop of Comum, in France, saith: 'Suscepisti gubernacula summi sacerdotii.' 'Thou hast taken the helm of the *high priesthood*.' (Lib. I. *Epist.* 5.) Again he saith, speaking likewise of any one bishop: 'Vidisti *summum sacerdotem* interrogantem et consecrantem.' 'Thou sawest the *high priest* examining (the people that was to be baptized) and consecrating (the water).' (*De his qui initiantur*. c. 3.)—I leave out sundry other like authorities of ORIGEN, of LACTANTIUS, of ATHANASIUS, of LEO, of VICTOR, of MILTIADES, and of others. EVAGRIUS (Lib. III. c. xxxii.)

ever said that *both the swords* are committed unto you?—Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that you have *authority and right to call councils?*—

calleth Euphemius and Gregorius, the bishops of Antioch, ἀρχιερεῖς 'the highest priests.' RUFFINUS (Lib. II. c. xxviii.) calleth Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria, 'Pontificem maximum' 'the greatest (or highest) bishop.'—By these, I trust, it may appear, that the title or dignity of the *highest priest*'hood was general, and common to all bishops; and not only closed up and mortised only in the Pope.

"Besides this ye bring us 'a word' ye say 'of greater sound.' 'In Romana ecclesia semper viguit apostolica cathedra principatus.' 'In the Roman Church the *princehood of the apostolic chair* has always flourished.' (AUGUST. *Epist.* 162.)—But what if this word *princehood* be no more peculiar to the Pope, than is the other of *highest priest*'hood? PAULINUS writing unto Alypius, not the great bishop of Rome, but the poor bishop, as I remember, of Tagasta, saith thus: 'Deus in civibus civitatis suæ principalem te cum principibus populi sui, apostolica sede collocavit.' 'God hath placed thee amongst the citizens of his city, in the *apostolic seat*, being a *principal* (or a chief) with the *princes* (that is to say, the other bishops) of his people.' *Epist.* inter *Epist.* AUGUST. *Ep.* 35.) Here have you found the *princehood of the see apostolic*, not only in Rome, but also in the poor city of Tagasta. Likewise CHRYSOSTOM saith, (*De Orando Deum*, Lib. I.) 'Paul the prince of the Apostles calleth on us to be always praying.' So saith S. GREGORY, (in 1 *Lib. Reg.* c. 10. Lib. IV. c. iv.) 'Paulus obtinuit totius Ecclesiæ principatum.' 'Paul obtained the *princehood of the whole Church*.' So saith LEO, (*Epist.* 62.) 'Juvenalis Episcopus ad obtinendum Palestinæ provinciæ principatum,' &c. 'Bishop Juvenal, that he might obtain the *princehood of the Province of Palestine*,' &c. It was great folly, therefore, these titles thus lying in common, to encroach the same only to the Pope." *Defence*, p. 467, 468.]

* [In answer to this challenge, HARDING quoted BERNARD. JEWELL replies: "S. BERNARD's authority in this case is but simple. He lived eleven hundred years after CHRIST's ascension, in the time of King Henry the First, the king of England; in the midst of the Pope's rout and tyranny. Howbeit, touching his judgment and credit herein, let us rather hear one of your own doctors. HERVEUS therefore saith thus, (JOHAN. DE PARISIIS, *De Potest Regia*, Cap. 11.) 'Bernardus ponit,' &c. 'Bernard saith, that the Pope hath the material (or temporal) sword at his command. But this, besides that it is of small force, maketh also more against them, than for them.'—Likewise ye may find it written in your own *Decrees*, [the first division of the *Canon Law*,] under the name of S. CYPRIAN, that 'CHRISTUS actibus propriis, et dignitatibus distinctis, officia potestatis utriusque discrevit.' 'CHRIST hath (not committed both these swords into one man's hand, but) by several duties, and sundry dignities, severed the offices of either power.' (*Distinct.* 10. *Quoniam idem.*) Whereupon your own *Gloss* saith thus: 'Ergo est argumentum,' &c. 'This therefore is a proof, that the Pope hath not both the swords.'"—*Defence*, p. 469.]

† [In reply to this inquiry, HARDING cited SOCRATES and SOZOMEN in EPIPHANIUS' translation, (*Hist. Tripartit.* Lib. IV. c. ix., Lib. III.

Which of your ancient fathers or doctors ever said, the whole world is but your diocese?—Which of the

c. x.) POPE JULIUS [the First] in his *Rescript (contra Orientales)* and ATHANASIUS (*Epist. Athanasii et Ægyptiorum Pontificum ad Felicem Papam.*)—JEWELL makes answer: "Notwithstanding, amongst all these words of POPE JULIUS, SOCRATES, CASSIODORUS,* and forged ATHANASIUS,† there is not one word of power and authority to call Councils. Only thus much they say: 'No decree may pass in Council (μὴ δεῖν κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας) without the agreement and consent of the bishop of Rome;' for that he was one of the four principal Patriarchs, and ought to have his voice there as well as others. It is a principle ruled in law: 'Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet approbari.' 'That which toucheth all, must be allowed by all.'

"But lest you should think this was the Pope's only [exclusive] prerogative, and belonged to none beside him; the same SOCRATES writeth the very like words as well of the bishop of Constantinople, as of the Pope. Thus he saith: *Ἀμελήσαντες τῷ νόμῳ κολέοντος κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως χειροτονίαν μὴ γίνεσθαι.* 'Thus did they, not regarding the decree whereby order was taken that no bishop should be chosen without the consent of the bishop of Constantinople.' (*Ecc. Hist. Lib. VII. c. xxviii.*) Yet may not M. HARDING conclude hereof, that therefore the bishop of Constantinople had authority to call Councils?"—*Defence*, p. 470.]

"The Canonists, that is to say, the Pope's pages of honour, have not doubted to infeof their master with the possession of all the world. One saith thus: 'Dominus Papa,' &c. 'Our Lord the Pope is the ordinary (or bishop) of all men.' Another saith: 'Papa totius,' &c. 'The Pope hath the princehood of all the world.' Another saith: 'Papa est episcopus totius orbis.' 'The Pope is the bishop of the whole world.' Another saith: 'Papa etiam cessante,' &c. 'Though there be no default or negligence in any bishop, yet may the Pope bestow the benefices of all the world: for that he is bishop of all the world.' Therefore when the Chief Deacon investeth, or enrobbeth the Pope, at his consecration, he saith unto him: 'Ego investio te de Papatu, ut præsis urbi et orbi.' 'I do invest thee with the Popedom, that thou mayest rule both the city and the world.'‡

"This hath been the late wanton claim of the Pope's Canonists. Otherwise the ancient learned fathers have evermore bounded and

* [The translation of SOCRATES and SOZOMEN quoted by HARDING was made by EPIPHANIUS, a Latin monk of the fifth century, at the command of CASSIODORUS, for which reason JEWELL attributes it to the latter. As to the passage quoted—"CASSIODORUS in his Latin translation writeth thus: 'Canones jubent, extra Romanum nihil decerni Pontificem.' 'The Canons direct that nothing be decreed without the Roman Pontiff.' SOCRATES in the Greek, out of which the Latin was taken, writeth thus: (Lib. II. c. 17.) *μὴ δεῖν κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.* The English hereof is this: 'It is provided by the Canons, that rules to bind the Church, be not made without the consent of the Bishop of Rome.'"—JEWELL's *Reply to M. Harding's Answer* (to his challenge at Paul's Cross,) Art. IV. Div. 26.]

† [The Epistle quoted by HARDING as *ad Felicem*, is in the collection of the works of ATHANASIUS entitled *ad Marcum*. POSSEVIN, a strenuous Romanist, following BARONIUS, the champion of the Church of Rome, acknowledges that 'it is undoubtedly spurious.' *Apparat. Tom. I. p. 127.*]

‡ [The authorities and references are given at length by JEWELL.]

holy ancient fathers ever said, that *all bishops have received of your fulness*?—Which of all your ancient

limited the Pope within his own particular jurisdiction. RUFINUS saith, the fathers of the Council of Nice appointed the Pope to oversee the churches of his own suburbs—'ut Romanus episcopus suburbicarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.' (*Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. vi.*) ATHANASIUS saith: 'Rome is the mother church (not of all the universal world, but) of the Roman (particular) jurisdiction.' (*Ad solitariam vitam agentes.*) The bishops in the Council of Rome write thus to the bishops of Illyricum: 'It is convenient, that all the bishops that be within the jurisdiction of Rome should accord together'—*πάντας τῶς ἐν Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ διδασκάλους ὁμοφρονεῖν.* (SOZOMEN. Lib. VI. c. xxiii.) Flavianus the archbishop of Constantinople writeth thus unto Leo the bishop of Rome: 'Let your holiness vouchsafe to make known the wickedness of Eutyches to all the bishops that live under you:'—(inter *Epistolas Leonis*, Ep. 9.)—to *all the bishops*, he saith, that *live under you*; not, unto all bishops throughout the world. S. JEROME, speaking of the usage and order of the Church of Rome, saith thus: 'Quid mihi proferens unius urbis consuetudinem?' 'What allegest thou me the custom of one city?' (*ad Evagrium.*) So much he abridgeth the Pope's jurisdiction, that he extendeth it not unto the lists and ends of all the world, but restraineth it only to the limits of *one city*. Likewise again, speaking of the bishops of Rome, he saith thus: 'Non solum unius urbis, sed etiam totius orbis errant episcopi.' 'Then not only the bishop of *one city* (which was the bishop of Rome) but also the bishops of all the world are deceived.' (*Ad Vigilantium.*)—Thus therefore writeth GENNADIUS, [Patriarch of Constantinople from 458 to 471,] together with the Council of Constantinople, unto the bishop of Rome: 'Curet sanctitas tua universas tuas custodias, tibi que subjectos episcopos.' 'Let your holiness see unto (not all the whole world, but) *all your own charge*, and such bishops as be subject unto you.' (*ad Omnes Metropol. et ad Papam Rom.*)

"By these few, we see the bishop of Rome's power was not *universal* or *infinite*, over all the Churches and kingdoms of the world; but certain, and limited within his own particular jurisdiction." *Defence*, p. 470, 471.]

* [HARDING answers, "So hath S. BERNARD said in his book, *De Consideratione ad Eugenium*; where he saith that he is called, 'in plenitudinem potestatis,' 'to the fulness of power.'"—JEWELL makes reply: "There is no folly so vain, but by some shift it may be maintained. In your *Gloss*, it is written thus: 'Omnes subjecti,' &c. 'All men are subject to the Pope's will, and are in him as members of a member.' Another saith: 'Ecclesia non habet,' &c. 'The Church hath no power of jurisdiction, but only from Peter.' And again: 'A Petro,' &c. 'Next after CHRIST, spiritual grace and power is derived from Peter.' And therefore another of your doctors saith: 'Omnes episcopi,' &c. 'All bishops are derived from the Pope, as members from the head; and they all receive of his fulness;' that is to say, power of his power, and grace of his grace. [The allusion is to John i. 16.] All these vanities, M. HARDING thinketh, may be well borne out by two bare words of BERNARD!" *Defence*, p. 471.]

doctors ever said, that *all power is given to you, as well in heaven, as in earth?*^b—Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that *neither king, nor prince, nor the whole clergy, nor all the people together, are able to be judges over you?*^c—Which of the ancient fathers ever

^b ["What manner of power it is that the Pope claimeth, his own proctors and counsellors can tell us best. Cardinal HOSTIENSIS [an eminent Canonist, or expounder of the Canon Law] saith: '*Papa et CHRISTUS faciunt unum Consistorium: ita quod, excepto peccato, potest Papa quasi omnia facere quæ potest DEUS.*' 'The Pope and CHRIST make one Consistory (or one judgment seat:) so that, sin excepted, the Pope in a manner may do all things that God may do' (Quoted by ABBAS PANORMITANUS, *Extr. de Transl. Præl. Ca. Quanto.*)" *Defence*, p. 473.—See more in Note ^c, page 100.]

^c ["In these two points standeth the Pope's card of trust, and the keys and castle of all his power. *First*, the Church of Rome, whatsoever way she take, can never err: *Second*, the Pope, whatsoever he do, may never be called to any reckoning. These two points being granted, the rest is sure. One of your doctors saith thus: '*Omne factum,*' &c. 'We must expound *every act* of the holy father for the best. And *if it be theft, or any other thing that of itself is evil*, we must think it done by the secret inspiration of God.' (JOHAN. DE PARISIIS, *De Potest. Reg. et Pap.*) Another saith: '*Si Papa innumerabiles,*' &c. 'If the Pope draw infinite companies of people by heaps together with himself into hell, to be punished with many stripes for ever; yet let not mortal man presume to reprove his faults.' (*Distinct. 40 Si Papa.*) Another saith: '*Papa solutus,*' &c. 'The Pope is exempted from all human laws.' (IX. *Quæst. 3 Cuncta.*) Another saith: '*Nec totus clerus,*' &c. 'Neither all the clergy, nor the whole world, may either judge or depose the Pope.' (PET. DE PALUDE, *De Potest. Pap. Art. 4.*)—Therefore another of your doctors saith: '*Judicare de factis,*' &c. 'To judge of the Pope's deeds, this some men say, is to touch the holy mount (wherein God gave the Law, and showed himself to Moses) and to set the face against the heavens.' (JOH. DE PARISIIS, *Cap. 20.*) And the Pope himself saith: 'The accusing of him is the *sin against* the HOLY GHOST, which shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the next.' (*Concil. Tom. I. in Purgatione Sixti.*)" *Defence*, p. 474.]

In defence of these claims, HARDING quotes "the fathers of the most ancient Council of Sinessa [held about A. D. 300] who said in the cause of Marcellinus the Pope, '*Nemo unquam judicavit Pontificem, quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam.*' 'No man ever judged the Pope; because the first See shall not be judged of any body.'"—To this JEWELL makes answer: "Pope Marcellinus, whose name ye have alleged out of the Council of Sinuessa for defence, was an apostate, and had forsaken CHRIST; and being Pope in Rome, had made sacrifice to devils. All this notwithstanding, ye say, 'No mortal man might accuse him.' Thus hath the Pope a special prerogative and premunire to forsake CHRIST, and to commit open idolatry, and to give honour and sacrifice unto devils, without controulment.

"Yet S. Paul accused S. Peter, even unto his face, in the presence

said, that *kings and emperors*, by CHRIST's will and commandment, receive their authority at your hands?—Which of the ancient fathers, with so precise and mathematical limitation, ever surveyed, and determined you to be *seventy and seven times greater than the mightiest kings*?—Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that more ample authority is given to you, than to the residue of the Patriarchs?—Which of the ancient

of many. (*Galat. ii.*) Mena, the bishop of Constantinople, judged and excommunicated Pope Vigilius. (*NICEPHOR. Eccl. Hist. Lib. XVII. c. xxvi.*) The bishops of the East Church judged, and excommunicated, and deposed Pope Julius. (*SOZOMEN. Lib. III. C. x.*)” *Defence*, p. 475.]

“ [“ It is evident by the record and general consent of all ancient writers, that the Pope hath neither possession, nor foot of lands, nor house to dwell in, nor the name of *Universal Bishop*, nor charter, nor liberty, nor jurisdiction, but that he hath received, either of the French kings, or of the Emperors. Yet would he now bear the world in hand, that the emperor hath nothing, neither lands, nor honour, nor power, nor right, nor swords, nor jurisdiction, but only from him.—If any man doubt hereof, besides other testimonies of antiquity, let him read that most vain and childish *Donation*, that the Pope himself hath forged under the name of the emperor Constantine.” *Defence*, p. 475.]

• [This childish computation of absurd pretensions, HARDING acknowledges to be made by JOHANNES ANDREÆ (a Canonist) in his comment on the Canon Law *De Major. et Obed. Solitæ*.]

† [To prove this claim, HARDING adduced, with the utmost confidence, the pretended *Donation of Constantine*, as given in the Canon Law (*Distinct. 98. Constantinus*) and as found in the writings of the obscure Greek expositor of the Canons HIEROMONACHUS in these words: Θησπιζομεν σύμπασιν τοῖς σατραπαῖς καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ διάδοχον τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ κυρίου μου Πέτρου, πλείονα τῆς βασιλείας ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν δικουμένην, καὶ παρὰ πάντων πολλῶν πλέον ἢ τὸν βασιλεῖα τιμᾶσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι, κεφαλὴν τε εἶναι τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων, κρίνεσθαι τε παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τὰ τῇ ὁρθοδόξῳ συμβαίνοντα πῶς; which he translates: ‘We give in decree and commandment to all lords, and to the Senate of our empire, that the bishop of Rome, and the successor of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, [and my lord,] have authority and power in all the world, more than that of the empire is; and that he be honoured and worshipped more than the emperor; and that he be head of the four Patriarchal seats, and that things appertaining to the right faith be for him judged and determined.’—JEWELL remarks: “Lest any man by simplicity or ignorance should be deceived, not understanding the mysteries of this *donation or charter*; by the judgment of your own doctors (*JOH. DE PARISIIS de Potestate Regia*, Cap. 22) the meaning thereof is this: ‘Volunt aliqui,’ &c. ‘Some think that by force and virtue of this *donation*, the Pope is the emperor and the lord of the world; and that hereby he hath power both to set up, and also to put down kings, as an emperor.’

holy fathers ever called you *Lord and God*?⁵—Which

"The fable hereof is so peevish, that the wisest and best learned of your very friends, PLATINA, Cardinal CUSANUS, MARSIILIUS PATAVINUS, LAURENTIUS VALLA, ANTONINUS FLORENTINUS, OTHO FREISINGENSIS, HIERONYMUS, PAULUS CATALANUS, VOLATERRANUS, NAUCLERUS, CAPNIO, MULLINEUS, and others, have openly reproved it unto the world, and have written against it, and are much ashamed of your follies.—To allege one instead of many; Cardinal CUSANUS hereof hath written thus: 'Donationem Constantini,' &c. 'Advisedly weighing this Donation (or grant) of Constantine, even in the penning thereof I find manifest tokens of falsehood and forgery.' (*De Concordantia Cathol.* Lib. III. Cap. ii.)—The same grant of Constantine, even in GRATIAN, [the compiler of the Canon Law,] the Pope's own register, is found only in the *Palea* [supplementary additions, esteemed of less authority than the body of the Canon] and not in the original allowed text.—And to put the matter out of doubt, even Pope Pius II. himself, thereof saith thus: 'Dicta palea *Constantinus*, falsa est.' 'The said patch, that so beginneth, *Constantinus*, is false.' (*In Dialog.*) Defence, p. 478.

Having thus refuted HARDING's pretended authority, JEWELL goes on to prove at length the equality of the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, with that of Rome. This he does by the authorities of the Council of Nice, (Can. 6) of the Emperor Justinian, (*Cod. de Sacrosanct. Eccl.*) and of the Second Council of Constantinople (*Cap. 36.*); and by the examples of Gennadius, Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria, Athanasius, and Pope Liberius.

"Yet now," he concludes, "the bishop of Rome, to maintain his title by a writ of right, forasmuch as the four principal patriarchs of the world have forsaken him, appointeth out four of his ordinary chaplains, and giveth them the names of four Patriarchs: the first for Constantinople; the second for Alexandria; the third for Antioch; the fourth for Jerusalem.* And thus having these four at commandment, in his pleasant fancy he ruleth and governeth the whole world.—In such a solemn bravery, the great Cham of Tartary, at this day, after he hath dined himself, soundeth out a trumpet, and giveth all kings and emperors of the world leave to go to dinner: and in this imagination and jollity he continueth his claim to the possession of all the world, even by as good right and title as doth the Pope!" Defence, p. 479 s.]

⁵ ["Pope NICOLAS [the First, called the Great; A. D. 858 to 867] saith: 'Constat summum Pontificem—a pio principe Constantino Deum appellatum.' 'It is well known that the Pope was called God by the pious prince Constantine.' (*Distinct.* 96. *Satis evidenter.*) Likewise, the Pope was well content to suffer one of his parasites (*Christopher Marcellus*) to say unto him in the late Council of the Lateran, [held under Julius II. and Leo X. A. D. 1512—1517,] 'Tu es alter Deus in terris;' 'Thou art another God in earth.' (*Conc. Lateran. Sess. 4.*) Likewise CARDILLUS the Spaniard, in defence of the Pope's late Chap-

* [This absurd custom is still continued. The Patriarchs thus appointed, together with a multitude of bishops of the same description, are known, sometimes as *titular* [Patriarch, or Bishop]; sometimes as *Patriarch*, &c. *in partibus, sc. infidelium*,—in the territories of the infidels.]

of the ancient holy fathers ever said, that you are *not a mere natural man, but a certain substance made and grown together of God and man?*^a Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that you are the *only head-spring of all laws?*—Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that you have *power over purgatory?*ⁱ—Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that you are *able to command the angels of God* as ye list yourself?^h—Which of the ancient fathers ever said, that you are the *Lord of lords, and King of kings?*

ter [Council] at Trent, oftentimes calleth the Pope 'Terrenum Deum' 'an earthly God.'—Upon the Pope's own *Clementines*, [one of the divisions of the *Canon Law*] ye shall find the matter thus taken up, and qualified with great indifference and modesty, and thus specially noted in the margin, 'Papa nec Deus est, nec homo.' 'The Pope is neither God nor man.' (*Extrav. Johan. XXII. Cum inter.*) And to leave other his blasphemous and fond styles, in another like Gloss, ye shall find it written thus: 'Credere DOMINUM DEUM NOSTRUM PAPAM non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur.' 'To believe that OUR LORD GOD THE POPE might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy.' (*Ibid. in Glossa.*) Thus, and even with the self-same express words, hath it been printed often, and in sundry places, (at Paris, *anno* 1513, and at Lyons, *anno* 1555.) Yet have I not heard of any Pope that ever found fault with the printing.

"These things might seem incredible, had not St. Paul foretold us, that the 'man of sin' should 'sit in the temple of God,' 'showing himself that he is God.' (2 *Thess. ii.*)—EUSEBIUS saith, (*Præparatio Evang. Lib. VII.*) 'This is a token that they hate God, for they will have themselves called by the name of God.' " *Defence*, p. 481.]

^h ["In the Pope's own *Decretals* [one of the divisions of the *Canon Law*,] it is noted thus in the margin: 'Papa non est homo.' 'The Pope is not man.' (*In Sext. de electione.*) Your Gloss upon the Pope's own *Clementines* allegeth these words out of one of your allowed poets: 'Papa stupor mundi.' 'The Pope is the wonder of the world.' And again: 'Nec Deus es, nec homo: quasi neuter es inter utrumque.' 'Thou art neither god, nor man: in a manner thou art neither of both, but rather a mean between both.' "—*Defence*, p. 481.]

ⁱ ["One of your allowed doctors (ANGELUS PARISIENSIS) saith: 'Purgatorium est peculium Papæ.' 'Purgatory is the peculiar possession of the Pope.' I throw, as being a college only of his own foundation." *Defence*, p. 482.]

^k ["FELINUS, your doctor, saith thus: 'Nedum circa cœlestia, terrestria, et infernalialia Papa gerit vicariatum CHRISTI, sed etiam super angelos bonos et malos.' 'The Pope acts as vicar of CHRIST, not only over things in heaven, in earth, and in hell; but also over the good and bad angels.' (*Extra de Constitut. Statuta Canon. Felin.*) INNOCENT the Pope himself saith: 'Vicario Creatoris omnis creatura subjecta est.' 'Unto the vicar of the CREATOR every creature is subject.' Your own doctor ANTONINUS the Archbishop of Florence saith: 'Potestas Papæ,' &c. 'The power of the Pope is greater than any other created power,

Sect. 8. We can also go further with you in like sort. What one amongst the whole number of the old *bishops* and fathers ever taught you, either to say *private mass*, while the people stared on, or to *lift up the sacrament* over your head; ¹ in which points consisteth now all your religion? Or else to *mangle* CHRIST's *sacraments*, and to bereave the people of the one part thereof, contrary to CHRIST's institution, and plain express words?

But that we may once come to an end: What one is there of all the fathers which hath taught you to *distribute* CHRIST's *blood*, and the *holy martyrs'* merits, and to sell openly your *pardons*, [indulgences,] and all the rooms² and lodgings of purgatory, as a gainful kind of merchandize?³

Sect. 9. These men are wont to speak much of a certain secret doctrine [learning] of theirs, and of their

in some manner extending to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal: so that of it the saying is verified, 'Thou hast put all things under his feet.' (*In Summa*, Part. III. Tit. xxii. Cap. 5. ante §) "*Defence*, p. 483.]

¹ [See Note ¹ page 60.]

² [*Rooms*—places. So in Matth. xxiii. 6; Mark xii. 39; Luke xiv. 7, 8, 9, 10; xx. 46.]

³ ["*Roffensis* [FISHER, Bishop of Rochester, the martyr for the Pope's supremacy under Henry the Eighth;] saith: 'Ego respondeo, Non satis constare,' &c. 'I answer, It cannot well appear from whom *pardons* first began. Among the ancients there was either no mention of *purgatory*, or very little. As long as there was no care for *purgatory*, no one sought indulgences. For on it depends the whole value of indulgences.' (*Contra Lutherum*.)—JOHANNES MAJOR [a Scholastic divine of some eminence, of the early part of the sixteenth century;] saith: 'De indulgentiis pauca,' &c. 'Of pardons little may be said with certainty; for the Scripture does not speak of them expressly. For what was said to Peter, To thee will I give the keys, &c. must certainly be understood with a grain of salt. Therefore some of the indulgences, which extend to twenty thousand years, are *foolish and superstitious*.' (*In 4 Sent.* Dist. 20. Quæst. 2.)—Your School doctors themselves are wont sometime to say, '*Inventio indulgentiarum*,' &c. 'The invention of indulgences is a pious fraud and deceit without evil, by which the people is drawn to piety by a useful error.' (VESSELIUS.)

"Here, M. Harding, ye see the antiquity, authority, and best countenance, of your pardons; that they flowed first out of the sinks of your purgatory, as one vanity floweth out of another: you see, that your pardons sometimes may be superstitious, and full of folly: you see that the sale of your pardons is a godly guile, and a devout kind of error, to lead the people. This is the fairest colour ye can devise to lay upon it. But miserable is that people, that must be led by guile and error!" "*Defence*, p. 486.]

manifold and sundry readings. Let them, therefore, bring forth somewhat now if they can, that it may appear they have at least read, or do know, somewhat. They have often stoutly noised in all corners where they went, that all the parts of their religion be very old, and have been approved, not only of the multitude, but also by the consent and continual observation of all nations and times. Let them, therefore, once in their life show this their antiquity. Let them make appear to the eye, that the things whereof they make such ado, have taken so long and large increase. Let them declare [make it appear] that all Christian nations have agreed by consent to this their religion.

Nay, nay, they turn their backs, as we have said already, and flee from their own decrees, and have cut off and abolished again within a short space the same things which but a few years before themselves had established, for evermore, forsooth, to continue. How should one then trust them in the fathers, in the old Councils, and in the words spoken by God? They have not, good LORD! they have not, I say, those things which they boast they have: they have not that antiquity, they have not that universality, they have not that consent, neither of all places, nor of all times. And though they have a desire rather to dissemble, yet they themselves are not ignorant hereof: yea, and sometime also they let [hesitate] not to confess it openly. And for this cause they say, that the ordinances of the old councils and fathers be such, as may now and then be altered; and that sundry and divers decrees serve for sundry and divers times of the Church. Thus lurk they under the name of *the Church*, and beguile silly creatures with their vain glozing. It is to be marvelled, that either men be so blind, that they cannot see this; or if they see it, that they be so patient, so lightly and quietly to bear it.

Sect. 10. But whereas they have commanded that those decrees should be void, as things now waxen too old, and that have lost their grace; perhaps they have provided, in their stead, certain other better things, and more profitable for the people. For it is a common saying with them, that 'if CHRIST himself, or the Apos-

ties, were alive again, they could neither better, nor more godly, govern God's Church, than it is at this present governed by them.'° They have put somewhat in their stead, indeed: but it is *chaff* instead of *wheat*, as Jeremiah saith,^p and such things as, according to Isaiah the prophet's word,^q God 'never required at their hands.' They have stopped up all the veins of the clear springing water, and have digged up for the people deceivable and puddle-like pits, full of mire and filth, which neither have, nor are able to hold, pure water.' They have plucked away from the people the holy Communion; the word of God, from whence all comfort should be taken;° the true worshipping of God

° ["One of your friends saith: 'Apostolorum temporibus rudis adhuc erat Ecclesia: 'In the times of the Apostles the Church was as yet unfinished.' (LATOMUS *de Utraque Specie*.) Another saith: 'Omnes sanctiones,' &c. 'All the laws of the apostolic see are so to be received, as if they were confirmed by the divine voice of Peter himself.' (ANDREAS BARBATUS *ad Bessarionem*.)"—*Defence*, p. 488.]

^p Jer. xxiii. 28.

^q Isa. i. 12.

^r Jer. ii. 13.

° [In the *Defence*, JEWELL quotes at length JUSTIN MARTYR, (*Apol.* II.) TERTULLIAN, (*in Apol.* c. 39; *Ad Uxorem*, Lib. II.) CYPRIAN, (*Epist.* Lib. V. Ep. 5.) ORIGEN, (*Hom.* 15 *in Josuam*; *Hom.* 5 *in Leviticum*.) CHRYSOSTOM, (*Hom.* 19 *in Act.*) AUGUSTIN, (*in Ps.* 36; *Cont. Crescon.* Lib. I. c. 9; *in Ps.* 66.) LEO, (*de Res. Dom.* Sermon. 2; *de Pass. Dom.* Sermon. 19.) the fifth Council of Constantinople, (*Act.* 1.) and the Council of Laodicea, (*Can.* 16.) in proof of the primitive and universal usage of the stated reading of the Scriptures in public worship. With this he contrasts the usages of the Romish Church: "there you may hear,

'Ave mater Anna

Plena melle canna.'

(*'Hail, mother Anna; Cane full of honey!'*)

And at the hallowing [consecration] of your *Agnus DEI*, [small cakes of white wax, stamped with the figure of a lamb, and blessed with much pomp and ceremony by the Pope himself, on particular festivals,] in cometh a post in haste, and sweating, and telleth the Pope, 'Domine, Domine, Domine: Isti sunt Agni novelli, qui annuntiaverunt Alleluia. Modo venerunt ad fontes,' &c. ('Sir, Sir, Sir: These are new born lambs, which have proclaimed Hallelujah. Now they have come to the fountains,' &c.) Here is pretty gear to comfort the conscience! as good as a song of Robin Hood! Better were it for you to sit dumb in the Church of God, than thus to speak!

"Your churches are full, not only of spiritual, but also of corporal and horrible dumbness. Of all that is said or done there, be it never so fond [foolish] the poor godly people knoweth nothing. S. AUGUSTIN saith: 'Si intellectum,' &c. 'If ye remove the understanding of the

also, and the right use of Sacraments and prayer : and have given us of their own to play withal in the meanwhile, salt,⁴ water,⁵ oil,⁶ boxes,⁷ spittle, palms,⁸ bulls,⁹ jubilees,¹⁰ pardons, crosses,¹¹ censings,¹² and an endless rabble of ceremonies : and, as a man might term them, with *PLAUTUS*, *ludos ludificabiles*, pretty games to make sport withal.

Sect. 11. In these things have they set all their religion ; teaching the people that by the same God may be duly pacified, spirits be driven away, and men's con-

mind, no man is edified by hearing what he cannot understand.' (*De Gen. ad Lit.* Lib. XII. c. viii.) *CHRYSOSTOM* (*in Matth.* Hom. 131) saith : 'They have lost both their labour in hearing, and also the time. For he that understandeth not what he heareth, loseth the thing that he heareth.'—Touching the prayers that simple people make in a tongue unknown, *CHRIST* saith : 'This people honoureth me with their lips : but their hearts are far from me.' (*Matth.* xv. 8.)" *Defence*, p. 489—491.]

⁴ [*Salt* is used in the consecration of water for baptism in the Church of Rome. It is a custom of considerable antiquity, and probably derived from our Saviour's frequent allusions to the true doctrines and spirit of Christianity under the figure of salt.]

⁵ [*The manifold imaginary virtues of the holy water* (consecrated by the priest with set forms of prayer and benediction, and kept in its assigned receptacle just within the doors of all Romish churches) are notorious.]

⁶ [*Oil* is used by the Romish Church in the administration of confirmation, and in the pretended sacrament of Extreme Unction.]

⁷ [*JEWELL* probably alludes to the *pyx* or repository in which the consecrated wafer is kept ; whence it is taken with much ceremony at the celebration of masses ; and in which it is paraded in procession.]

⁸ [*Used* in a procession made on the Sunday before Easter, (thence called *Palm Sunday*), in commemoration of our Saviour's triumphant entry into Jerusalem.]

⁹ [*The solemn edicts of the Pope* are called *bulls*, because sealed with a leaden seal, resembling the ornament (*bullæ*) formerly worn on the neck of the youth of Rome.]

¹⁰ [*Pope Boniface VII.* in the year 1300, established a centennial festival, or *Jubilee*, on which extraordinary *indulgences* were to be granted to all such as should make a pilgrimage to Rome, and visit certain places of reputed sanctity. The festival attracted vast crowds, and was found to be exceedingly lucrative to the Papal see. This induced *Clement VI.* before fifty years had expired, to reduce the interval to that period ; and in 1475 its return was hastened to every twenty-fifth year. Since then it has continued to be observed at that interval.]

¹¹ [*The use of the crucifix*, or carved image of the Saviour extended on the cross ; and of the *sign of the cross*, made with the fingers, or hand, in blessing, praying, &c. in the Church of Rome, is notorious.]

¹² [*The burning of incense* by one of the assisting acolythes (or inferior ministers, generally boys) during the celebration of the mass.]

sciences quieted.^c For these, lo ! be the orient colours and precious savours of Christian religion : these things doth God look upon, and accepteth them thankfully : these must come in place to be honoured, and must put quite away the institutions of CHRIST, and of his Apostles. And like as in times past, when king Jeroboam had taken from the people the right serving of God, and had brought them to worship the golden calves ; lest perchance they might afterward change their mind, and slip away, getting them again to Jerusalem, to the temple of God, there he exhorted them with a long tale, to be steadfast, saying thus unto them : “ Behold thy gods, O Israel ; ”^d in this sort commanded your God you should worship him : for it should be wearisome and troublous for you to take upon you a journey so far off, and yearly to go up to Jerusalem, there to serve and honour your God.—Even after the very same sort, when these men had once “ made the law of God of none effect through their own traditions,” fearing that the people should afterward open their eyes, and fall another way, and should somewhence else seek a surer mean of their salvation ; how often have they cried out, ‘ This is the same worshipping which pleaseth God, and which he straitly requireth of us, and wherewith he will be turned from his wrath ;—that by these things is conserved the unity of the Church ;—that by these all sins be cleansed, and consciences quieted ;—and that whoso departeth from these, hath left unto himself no hope of everlasting salvation ! For it were wearisome and troublous, say they, for the people to resort to CHRIST, to the Apostles, and to the ancient fathers, and to observe continually what their will and commandment should be. This, ye may say, is to withdraw the people from the weak elements of the world,^e from the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees,^f and from the traditions of men.

* [“ AUGUSTIN STEUCHUS, one of your special and worthy doctors, saith : ‘ Aquas sale,’ &c. ‘ We hallow water with salt and prayers, that by the sprinkling thereof our sins may be forgiven.’ (*In Lib. Num. c. 19.*) Read your own *Pontifical*, and ye shall find in the hallowing of your water, your ashes, your palms, your candles, &c. this clause evermore in the end : ‘ Ut sint nobis ad salutem animæ et corporis.’ ‘ That they may be to us to the salvation of body and soul.’ ” *Defence*, p. 491.]

^d 1 Kings xii. 28,

^e Gal. iv. 3, 9.

^f Matth. xvi. 6.

It were reason, no doubt, that CHRIST's commandments, and the Apostles', were removed, that these their hests [injunctions] and devices may come in place ! O just cause, I promise you, why that ancient and so long allowed doctrine should be now abolished, and a new form of religion be brought into the Church of God !

CHAPTER X.

The Charge of Innovation.

Sect. 1. And yet, whatsoever it be, these men cry still, that nothing ought to be changed ; that men's minds are well satisfied herewithal : that the Church of Rome, the Church which cannot err, hath decreed these things. For SYLVESTER PRIERIAS saith that the Romish Church is "the square and rule of truth ;" and that the holy Scripture hath received from thence authority and credit. "The doctrine," saith he, "of the Roman Church, is the infallible rule of faith, from which the holy Scripture taketh her force. And indulgences and pardons," saith he, "are not made known to us by the authority of the Scriptures ; but they are made known to us by the authority of the Roman Church, and of the bishops of Rome, which is greater than the Scriptures."^s PIGHIUS also letteth not to say, that without the license of the Roman Church, we ought not to believe the very plain Scriptures.^h Much

^s [See Note * on page 26, and Note p on page 119.

"In his book entitled *Contra presumptuosas Martini Lutheri Conclusiones de Potestate Papæ*, the words of PRIERIAS, amongst others, be these ; 'Quicumque non innititur doctrinæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ac Romani Pontificis, tanquam regula DEI infallibili, a qua etiam sacra Scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem, hæreticus est.' 'Whosoever dependeth not on the doctrine of the Romish Church and of the Roman Pontiff, as the infallible rule of God, from which even the holy Scripture derives force and authority, is a heretic.' " *Defence*, p. 493.]

^h ["That which is here alleged of PIGHIUS, it is the very sound and sense of the greatest part of his common place, *De Ecclesia*."

like as if any of those that cannot speak pure and clean Latin, and yet can babble out quickly and readily a little some such Law Latin as serveth the court, would needs hold, that all others ought also to speak after the same way that MAMMETRECTUS¹ and *Catholicon* spake many years ago, and which themselves do yet use in pleading in court; for so may it be understood sufficiently what is said, and men's desires may be satisfied: and that it is a fondness, now in the latter end to trouble the world with a new kind of speaking, and to call again the old fineness and eloquence that CICERO and CÆSAR used in their days in the Latin tongue. So much are these men beholden to the folly and darkness of former times. "Many things," as one writeth, "are had in estimation oftentimes, because they have been once dedicated to the temples of the Heathen gods:" even so we see at this day many things allowed and highly set off by these men, not because they judge them so much worth, but only because they have been received into a custom, and after a sort dedicated to the temple of God.^k

Sect. 2. 'Our Church,' say they, 'cannot err.' They speak that, I think, as the Lacedæmonians long since used to say that it was not possible to find any adulterer in all their commonwealth; whereas, indeed, they were rather *all* adulterers, and had no certainty in their marriages, but had their wives in common among them all: or as the Canonists at this day, for their bellies' sake, use to say of the Pope, that for so much as he is lord of all benefices, though he may sell for money bishoprics,

"Likewise saith JOHN MARIA VERRACTUS: 'Humiliter confitemur, Ecclesiæ autoritatem esse super Evangelium.' 'We humbly confess that the authority of the Church is above the Gospel.' " *Defence*, p. 494.—See Note ^r p. 128, and note ^h p. 134.]

¹ [MAMMETRECTUS, or MAMMOTREPTUS is the strange name given to an obscure and ignorant Franciscan friar, who, in the middle of the fifteenth century, compiled for the instruction of his still more ignorant brethren a rude vocabulary of the barbarous Latin then in use by ecclesiastics. His own name is lost in that which he affixed to his work, to indicate that by handling it the babes in literature might obtain the milk of knowledge!]

^k [If the things themselves were *indifferent*, it would be hard to show that such reception and dedication was not a sufficient reason for their retention.]

monasteries, priesthood, spiritual promotions, and part with nothing freely; yet because he counteth all his own, he cannot commit simony, though he would never so fain.¹ But how strongly and agreeably to reason these things be spoken, we are not as yet able to perceive; except perchance these men have plucked off the wings from the truth, as the Romans in old time did proine [prune] and pinion their goddess Victory, after she had once gotten her home, to the end that with the same wings she should never be able to flee away from them again.^m

Sect. 3. But what if Jeremiah tell them, as is afore rehearsed, that these be lies? What if the same prophet say in another place, that the self same men who ought to be keepers of the vineyard, have brought to nought, and destroyed, the LORD's vineyard?ⁿ How if CHRIST say that the same persons who chiefly ought to have care over the temple, have made the house of God a den of thieves?^o If it be so, that the Church of Rome cannot err, it must needs follow, that the good luck thereof is far greater than all these men's policy. For such is their life, their doctrine, and their diligence, that for all them, the Church may not only err, but also utterly be spoiled and perish. No doubt, if that Church may err which hath departed from God's word, from CHRIST's commandments, from the Apostles' ordinances, from the primitive Church's examples, from the old fathers' and Councils' orders, and from their own decrees, and which will be bound within the compass of none, neither old or new, nor their own, nor of others, nor man's law, nor God's law; then it is out of all question, that the Romish Church hath not only *had* power to err, but also that it *hath* shamefully and most wickedly erred in very deed.

Sect. 4. But say they, 'Ye have been of our fellowship, but now ye are become forsakers of your profes-

¹ *Summa Angelica*, in *dict. Papa*.—THEODORICUS *de Schismate inter Urbanum et Clementem*, Lib. I. c. xxxii.—[This assertion is supported at considerable length, from several authors of acknowledged authority in the Church of Rome, in the *Defence*, p. 497—499.]

^m PLUTARCH.

ⁿ Jer. xii. 10, 11.

^o Matth. xxi. 13.

sion, and have departed from us.' It is true. We have departed from them: and for so doing, we both give thanks to ALMIGHTY GOD, and greatly rejoice in our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the primitive Church—from the Apostles—and from CHRIST, we have not departed. True it is, we were brought up with these men in darkness,^p and in the lack of the know-

^p ["For that we say, 'we were brought up among you in darkness,' ye enter out of reason into a needless discourse of comparison of learning.—It was not our meaning to call the bright beams of your *liberal learning* into question.—We meant only the knowledge of God, and the open profession of his holy word: in comparison of which knowledge, all other knowledge whatsoever is mere 'darkness.'—Howbeit, touching any kind of the liberal and learned sciences, there was no great cause why ye should either so highly rouse yourself in your own opinion, or so greatly disdain others. Ye may remember, that your *Provincial Constitutions** begin with these words, 'Ignorantia Sacerdotum.' 'The Ignorance of Priests.'—Of THOMAS SCOTUS, HUGO, and others, of whom ye seem to make so great account, your own friend CATHARINUS [an eminent Romish divine of the sixteenth century] saith: 'Scholastici multa inerudite comminiscuntur.' 'These school doctors imagine many matters unlearnedly.' (*Adv. Dom. a Soto*.) ERASMUS saith: 'Portenta quæ nunc,' &c. 'The monstrous follies that we commonly read in the commentaries of the late interpreters (whereby he meaneth the very crop and the worthiest of all your scholastical learned doctors) are so far without shame, and so peevish, as if they had been written for swine, and not for men.' (*In Schol. in Hieron. ad Marcellam*.)—One of your doctors saith: 'Apostolus dicitur ab Apos,' &c. 'Apostolus is derived from Apos, meaning an argument, or pre-eminence, and Stolon, which is a mission: namely, to signify a pre-eminent mission.' (*Extr. de Elect. et elect. Potest. in Glossa*.) Another saith: 'Apocrisarii, means the Nuntii (or messengers) of our Lord the Pope. For crisis means secret; and apos means a messenger.' (*Manipul. Curat.* p. 101.) Another saith: 'Cathedra is a Greek name, and is compounded of Cathos, which is faith, and Edra, which is a couch.' (*inter Decret. Felicis P.*)—Of your liberal learned clergy one saith thus: 'Nec verba,' &c. 'They neither understand the words of their Canons, nor know what are the words of consecration.' (HERM. RIDDUS.) And therefore he that forged the Rule of monks under the name of S. JEROME, chargeth them in any wise to pronounce every word distinctly and warily, lest by their foolish utterance they should make the angels to fall a laughing! (*Hieron. in Reg. Monach.*)—These few may serve you for a taste. Hereby it may appear your clergy hath no great cause to make such triumph of their learning. Howbeit, we upbraid you not herewith: nor was this the cause of our departure.—Would God ye would humble your know-

[* The *Constitutions* or Regulations of fourteen Archbishops of Canterbury, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; collected and published by WILLIAM LITTONWOOD.]

ledge of God; as Moses was brought up in the learning and in the bosom of the Egyptians. "We have been of your company," saith TERTULLIAN;^a "I confess it: and no marvel at all. For," saith he, "men be made, and not born, Christians."^r

Sect. 5. But wherefore, I pray you, have they themselves, the citizens and dwellers of Rome, removed and come down from those seven hills whereupon Rome

ledge, and make it obedient to the knowledge of God! Otherwise that St. Peter said unto Simon Magus of his money, may likewise be said unto you of your knowledge, 'thy knowledge perish with thee!' Our learning is the cross of CHRIST: of other learning we make no vaunts. GOD is called 'the GOD of truth,' and not of *learning*. St. Paul saith: 'Knowledge shall vanish away.' GOD make us all 'instructed unto the kingdom of heaven!'" *Defence*, p. 503, 504.]

^a "De vestris fuimus; fiunt, non nascuntur, Christiani." TERTULL. *Apologetico*. c. xviii.

^r [This Section contains the pith of the controversy with the Romanists; and JEWELL is proportionably minute in his *Defence*. His remarks may be abridged under several heads.

1. The cause of separation—the corrupt state of the Church of Rome. He quotes numerous passages from authors of the best repute among the Romanists, and thus sums up their testimony: "We have departed, therefore, from 'shepherds that spoiled the flock' (BERNARD); from 'bishops that destroyed the Church' (*Idem*)—that 'oppressed the SPIRIT OF GOD' (*Chronicon Urspergens.*)—that 'defied the voice of the prophets' (*Ibid.*)—that 'persecuted CHRIST in his members' (*Ibid.*)—that 'both perished themselves, and killed others' (BERNARD)—that 'wallowed in monsters of filthiness' (*Ep. Bitont.* in Conc. Trident.)—that 'lived as Heathens under the name of CHRIST' (F. ZEPHYRUS)—that were 'void of charity' (ÆN. SYLVIVS)—'void of faith' (*Id.*)—'void of discipline' (*Vit. Clem. V.*)—'void of religion' (*Ibid.*)—that were 'Christians only in titles and ceremonies' (A. MARINARIUS)—from whom 'CHRIST had withdrawn his blessing' (S. BRIGIDA).* To be short, we have departed from the temple of heresy and the school of error."

2. The defensibility of such a step, under the circumstances.—Strong passages, recognizing the possibility of a case which should justify separation, and recommending it in such a case as that in question, are quoted from AUGUSTIN, CHRYSOSTOM, AMBROSE, the *Clementines*, POPE PIUS II. ANSELM, CARDINAL CUSANUS, and AMBROSE AUBERTUS, all authorities of great weight with the Church of Rome.

3. The responsibility for the separation, should lie, not with those who separate, but with those who render it necessary.—"We grant, we have departed from you, upon such occasion, and in such sort, as Moses sometime departed from out of Egypt; or as S. AUGUSTIN departed from the Manichees. Howbeit, in very deed, ye have rather

[^r St. Bridget, one of the female saints of the Church of Rome.]

sometime stood, to dwell rather in the plain called the field of Mars? They will say, peradventure, because the conduits of water^{*} wherewithout men cannot commodiously live, have now failed, and are dried up in those hills. Well, then, let them give us like leave in seeking the "water of eternal life," that they give themselves in seeking the water of the well. For that water verily failed amongst them. "The nobles" of the Jews, saith Jeremiah, "sent their little ones to the waters: they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed, and confounded, and covered their heads." "The needy and poor seek

departed from out of us. CHRYSOSTOM saith: (*In Matth. Hom. 49.*) 'Even so, touching this New Jerusalem, which is the Church; they that were spiritual Christian men, leaving the bodily Church, which the wicked by violence had invaded, departed out from them: or as S. John expoundeth it, they rather departed out from us. For he seemeth not, indeed, to depart from the Church, that *bodily* departeth; but he that *spiritually* leaveth the foundations of the ecclesiastical truth. We have departed from them, in *body*; they have departed from us, in *mind*: we from them by *place*; they from us, by *faith*. We have left with them the foundations of the walls: they have left with us the foundations of the Scriptures. We are departed forth from them, in the sight of men: they are departed from us, in the judgment of God. But now, after that the spiritual Church is gone forth, the bodily Church is left forsaken: that is to say, from the people which seemed to be a Christian people and was not, this people is gone forth, that seemed not outwardly, but was so indeed. Notwithstanding, as we said before, they have rather departed from us, than we from them.'

4. The identity of the Church of Rome with that of the Apostles, is acknowledged; yet does not preclude the need of separation. "Even so, the moon, both in the full and in the wane, is all one moon. Even so, Jerusalem as well under David as under Manasses, was all one city. The holy place, whether the majesty of God or the abomination of desolation stand in it, is all one place. 'The primitive Church,' say you, 'and the Church of Rome that now is, is all one Church.' Therefore, we say, the Church of Rome that now is, *in truth and religion ought to agree with the primitive Church.*

5. Numbers are no proof of right. The smallest of the separating bodies may have the truest claim to the character of the Church of CHRIST. IRENEUS, JEROME, and a modern Romish production entitled *Fortalitium Fidei*, are quoted in attestation of this.—*Defence*, p. 500—504.]

* [The aqueducts of ancient Rome, fourteen in number, one of which extended thirty-eight miles, were extraordinary monuments of industry and expense. They furnished to every part of the city a copious supply of water, brought in channels supported by vast piles of masonry from the neighbouring mountains. A learned and interesting work has been composed, treating of them alone.]

[†] Jer. xiv. 3.

water," saith Isaiah, "and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst,"—Even so these men have broken in pieces all the pipes and conduits: they have stopped up all the springs, and choked up the fountain of living water with dirt and mire. And as Caligula, many years past, locked up fast all the garners and storehouses of corn in Rome, and thereby brought a general dearth and famine among the people; even so these men, by damming up all the fountains of God's word, have brought the people into a pitiful thirst. They have brought into the world a hunger and a thirst, as saith the prophet Amos: "not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the LORD:"^v with great distress went they scattering about, seeking some spark of heavenly light to refresh their consciences withal; but that light was already thoroughly quenched out, so that they could find none. This was a rueful state. This was a lamentable form of God's Church. It was a misery to live therein, without the gospel, without light, and without all comfort.

Sect. 6. Wherefore, though our departing were a trouble to them, yet ought they to consider withal how just cause we had of our departure. For if they say, It is in nowise lawful for one to leave the fellowship wherein he hath been brought up; they may as well in our names, and upon our heads, likewise condemn the prophets, the Apostles, and CHRIST himself. For why complain they not also of this, that Lot went quite his way out of Sodom; Abram out of Chaldea; the Israelites out of Egypt; CHRIST from the Jews; and Paul from the Pharisees? For except it be possible there may be a lawful cause of departing, we see no reason why Lot, Abram, the Israelites, CHRIST, and Paul may not be accused of *sects* and *seditions* as well as others.

Sect. 7. And if these men will needs condemn us for heretics, because we do not all things at *their* commandment; whom, in God's name, or what kind of men,

[▪] Isa. xli. 17.

^v Amos viii. 11.

ought they themselves to be taken for, which despise the commandment of CHRIST, and of the *Apostles*? If we be schismatics because we have left them, by what name then shall be called themselves, which have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received their faith^v—forsaken the primitive Church—forsaken CHRIST himself, and the Apostles—even as if children should forsake their parents? For though those Greeks who this day profess religion and the name of CHRIST, have many things corrupted amongst them, yet hold they still a great number of those things which they received from the Apostles. They have neither *private masses*.¹

^v ["S. AUGUSTIN saith: 'Terra Græcorum,' &c. 'The land of Greece, whence the faith unto all places was sent abroad.' (*Epist.* 178.)—The bishops of the East wrote thus unto Julius [the First] the bishop of Rome: ἐκ τῆς ἐν ἐνδοχμῶσαν ἀντὶ δι τοῦ δόγματος ἐισσηγῆναι. 'The preachers of Christian doctrine came from the East' to the Church of Rome. (SOZOMEN. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. III. c. viii.) Likewise S. BASIL saith: 'The gospel of the kingdom, springing up first in the Church of Greece, was thence published abroad unto all the world.' (*In Epist. ad Episc. per Ital. et Gall.*) The bishop of Bitonto, in your late Chapter at Trident [Council of Trent] uttered these words, as it may well appear with lusty courage: 'Eja igitur Græcia mater nostra, cui id totum debet quod habet Latina Ecclesia!' 'O therefore, mother Greece, unto whom the Latin Church (or Church of Rome) is beholden for all that ever she hath. (*Conc. Trid. Orat. Ep. Bitont.*)—It is written in your own Councils: 'Si Græci,' &c. 'If the Greeks by a certain division be sundered from the Latins, even so be the Latins sundered from the Greeks. And therefore it seemeth, if the Greeks in respect of this division ought to be called *schismatics*.' (*Op. Tripartit.* Lib. II. c. ii. in II. Tom. Concilior.)" *Defence*, p. 507, 508.]

^x [This assertion is met on the part of HARDING by a flat denial. 'They have mass commonly,' says he, 'without company to communicate with the priest; which ye call *private mass*. So it is all Greece over: so it is in Asia, in Syria, in Assyria, in Armenia, &c., wheresoever the religion of CHRIST is professed: as among the Greeks in Venice I myself, and divers of our countrymen, have seen it commonly practised.'

In reply, JEWELL 1. requires the *proof* of the sweeping assertion respecting 'Asia,' &c.

2. He adduces in evidence the Oriental Liturgies as authorities allowed by the Romanists. From these, he says, "ye shall find that these self same masses were our *Communions*, and nothing like to your *Masses*: and that the holy sacraments, at the same, contrary to your new devices, were delivered generally in both kinds to all the people. St. James in his Mass saith thus: 'Diaconi,' &c. 'The deacons take up the dishes and the cups, to minister the sacrament unto the people.' (*Liturgia Jacobi*.) S. Chrysostom in his Mass

not mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons.

saith thus: 'Post mysteria,' &c. 'Afterward the holy mysteries (or sacraments) be brought unto the place where the people must receive together.' (*Lit. Chrysost.*) S. Basil in his Mass saith thus: 'Nō omnes,' &c. 'All we receiving of one bread, and one cup; &c.—The singers chant the Communion; and so they communicate all together.' (*Lit. Basilii*)*—Therefore ye must needs confess, either that the Grecians this day use none of these Masses; or that their Masses are not your masses, but our communions; which both are contrary to yourself.—In the Armenian's Liturgy it is written thus: 'Qui non sunt,' &c. 'They that are not worthy to receive this oblation of God, let them go forth before the church door; and there let them pray.' (GEORGIUS CASSANDER in *Liturgiis*.)"

3. To this unexceptionable evidence JEWELL adds the explicit testimony of well informed individuals concerning the usages of the Greek and other Oriental Churches.—"Your great and special doctor Cardinal BESSARION, being himself a Greek born, saith thus: 'Hoc ipse ordo,' &c. 'This the very order of the things required: first, that we should consecrate (or bless the bread); next, that we should break it; last of all, that we should divide it (or deliver it to the people.) Which we (Grecians) do at this present day.' (*De Sac. Eucharistiæ. circ. ann. 1450.*) Thus you see that the Grecians at this day consecrate, break, and divide the sacrament unto the people as we do. They receive it not privately to themselves alone, the people standing by, and gazing on them, as you do.—MATTHIAS ILLYRICUS, being himself born in Dalmatia, not far from the confines or borders of Greece, and therefore, as it may be thought, the better acquainted with their orders, saith thus: 'Ecclesia Græca, cique conjuncta,' &c. 'The Church of Greece, and the Churches of Asia, Macedonia, Mysia, Wallachia, Russia, Muscovy, and Africa, joined thereunto; that is to say, in a manner the whole world, or at least, the greatest part thereof, never by common consent allowed the supremacy of the Pope; never approved of Purgatory, or of private masses; or of the communion under one kind.' (*Test. Veritatis. p. 5.*)"

4. He adduces facts in corroboration of these statements: the celebration of the communion after the manner of the Greeks at the opening of the Council of Ferrara, at which the Marquis and citizens of Ferrara 'more Græcorum' received from the Patriarch; (*Conc. Ferrariens. in Proëm.*) and the practice of the Greeks as vouched by PETRUS URBERETANUS, and DURANDUS, two writers of approved authority with the Church of Rome.

5. In reply to HARDING'S instance of the Greek Church in Venice, he observes: "Touching the Grecians that live now in Venice, what order they use there, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding, as I have heard say, private mass they have not. But if they have, living under the Pope's jurisdiction, it is no marvel. Certain it is, that Venice is no part of Greece." *Defence, p. 509, 510, 511.*]

'HARDING objects, that prayer for the dead being in use in the Oriental Churches, is proof that they maintain the doctrine of purga-

* Of the Liturgies here cited by JEWELL, it is acknowledged by all that the one bearing the name of S. James is a spurious production of the fifth or sixth cen-

And as for the titles of *high bishops*, and those glorious names, they esteem them so, as whosoever he were that would take upon him the same, and would be called either *Universal Bishop*, or the *Head of the Universal Church*, they make no doubt to call such an one both a passing proud man, and a man that worketh despite against all the other bishops his brethren, and a plain heretic.*

tory. JEWELL answers: "For aught that I can see, *prayer for the dead*, and your fancy of *purgatory*, were never so straitly coupled together, but that they might well and easily go asunder. The Greeks as they *pray for the dead*, so do they pray for the *Apostles*, for the *Patriarchs*, for the *Prophets*, and for the *blessed Virgin our Lady*: as you may soon perceive by *S. Basil's* and *S. Chrysostom's Liturgy*. Yet I think ye would not have your reader believe, as an article of your faith, that the *Apostles of CHRIST*, the *Patriarchs*, the *Prophets*, and the *Blessed Virgin*, *CHRIST's mother*, are still in *purgatory*! Whatsoever other opinion the Greeks have of the dead, certain it is, they could never yet be brought to believe your *purgatory*. ROFFENSIS, one of your greatest doctors, saith thus: '*Purgatorium*,' &c. '*The Greeks, to this day, believe not in purgatory*.' (POLYD. VIRGILIO *De Invent. Rerum*. Lib. VIII. c. i.)" *Defence*, p. 509.]

* [The agreement or disagreement of the Greek and other Oriental Churches with that of Rome, has been a question fruitful in wordy controversy, on which much labour has been spent in vain both by Romanists and Protestants. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century an attempt was made to heal the Churches of the East and West. A Council, purporting to be General, was called for this purpose by Pope Eugenius IV., and held first at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence, with much pomp and solemnity; the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople, with a great number of the Greek clergy, being present. A pretended union was agreed upon, but dissolved by the clamorous dissent of the whole Eastern Church, almost as soon as the Council had dispersed.

The Reformers made several attempts to procure the sanction of the Greek Church for their formularies of belief; but always without success.

In the seventeenth century, it became an object with the Church of

tury, as internal evidence abundantly shows. It was then in use in the Church of Jerusalem. Although the greater part of the Liturgy is certainly the production of those later ages, it is by no means improbable that it embodies fragments of services used even in the Apostles' days, and possibly the production of the Apostle whose name it bears. The Liturgy of James is now used only once a year by the Greek Church in Jerusalem.

The *Liturgy of Basil* is an abridgment of the early services of the Eastern Church, made by BASIL, surnamed *the Great*, (A. D. 370.) It is used by the Greek Church on ten particular festivals in the course of the year.

The *Liturgy of Chrysostom* is a still further abridgment made from that of Basil, by CHRYSOSTOM, (A. D. 398.) It is the form yet in ordinary use among the Greeks.

JEWELL quotes only the Latin translation of these Liturgies. They were published in the original Greek, with a Latin version, by MORERI, at Paris, in 1660.]

Sect. 8. Now then, since it is manifest, and out of all peradventure, that these men are fallen from the Greeks, of whom they received the gospel, of whom

Rome, conniving at the independence and difference of discipline of the Oriental Churches, to obtain their sanction for the controverted articles of its faith and practice. Several eminently learned writers were employed to prove, both to those Churches themselves, and to the world, that, properly understood, their opinions harmonized entirely with the dogmas of Rome. Intrigues of the most disgraceful character, were carried on in Constantinople and the East, to silence the remonstrants against what many of the Greeks, notwithstanding the prevailing ignorance and superstition, still perceived to be essential corruptions of Christianity, and to procure expressions of conformity on those points with the Romish tenets. The mediation of the civil powers was even resorted to, and the French ambassador at Constantinople undertook the singular task of procuring theological opinions favourable to his master's faith, from the Greek divines. On the other hand, the envoys of England and Holland were not backward in endeavouring to secure testimonials of an opposite character: and for some time the Turks might witness, if they thought the subject worth attention, a sort of scuffle between the rival sects of Western Christians for the suffrages of their Eastern brethren.

It would require a volume, rather than a brief note, to give the historical details of this controversy relative to the opinions of the Greek Church. The question itself has already fruitlessly occupied many volumes.

The truth is, the Greek Church is little less corrupt than that of Rome. Its corruptions in some points are identical with those of the latter; in many similar; in many altogether different; and in some directly at variance. *Transubstantiation* has never been defined as the belief of the Greek Church, as a body: but it has been asserted in some of the confessions procured from distinguished members of that Church, and is obscurely held perhaps by a majority of its members. The *Papal supremacy*, as might easily be anticipated, has never been allowed by the Greek Church, although at intervals the fraud or violence of Rome has extorted admissions, which have invariably been retracted and fiercely disavowed by the body of the Church. *Purgatory* is not an acknowledged doctrine of the Greek Church: yet is held by many of its members. The *Romish* corruptions of the administration of the Eucharist, are not, it is true, in practice among the Greeks: but it is because *others*, scarcely less enormous, have prevailed, and are adhered to with the most superstitious veneration. *Indulgences*, and all their attendant train of enormities, with *masses for the dead*, are wholly unknown to the Greek Church. But, on the other hand, the *monastic system*, *image worship*, and the *intercession of the saints*, are even more rife among them than among the Romanists. As for titles, their chief Patriarch, it is true, does not arrogate to himself the *universal bishopric*, or *vicarage of CHRIST on earth*: but for high-sounding epithets of reverence and honour—for disgusting obsequiousness in the lower orders of the clergy, and unchristian assumptions of

they received the faith, the true religion, and their Church itself; what is the matter, why they will not now be called home again to the same men—as it were, to their originals and first founders? And why be they afraid to take a pattern of the Apostles' and old fathers' times, as though they all had been void of understanding? Do these men, ween ye, see more, or set more by the Church of God, than they did, who first delivered us these things?

Sect. 9. Indeed, we have renounced that Church, wherein we could neither have the word of God sincerely taught, nor the sacraments rightly administered, nor the name of God duly called upon: which Church also themselves confess to be faulty in many points; and wherein was nothing able to stay any wise man, or one that hath consideration of his own safety. To conclude, we have forsaken the Church *as it is now*, not as it was in old times past; and have so gone from it, as Daniel went out of the lions' den, and the Three Children out of the furnace: and, to say the truth, we have been *cast out* by these men, (being cursed of them,* as

proud superiority by their dignitaries, they are, if any thing, worse than Rome itself.

It is hard to strike the balance between accounts so charged with evil on either side. It is certainly unsafe to appeal to either party in evidence against the other. For centuries the East and the West have been diverging from primitive truth and order, by widely differing roads: the point of departure lies almost equally remote from both.]

* ["Ye have excommunicate us, and put us from you. So did certain of your predecessors and fathers excommunicate CHRIST and his Apostles. (*John ix. 22, 24, 34. xii. 42. xvi. 2.*) So did Diotrephes, that first claimed your Papal primacy, excommunicate the faithful of CHRIST, that were the first planters of the gospel. (*3 John 10.*)—But the Pope himself saith, 'Excommunicatus non potest excommunicare.' 'He that is excommunicate himself, hath no right or power to excommunicate others.' (*XXIV. Quæst. 1.*) And in your own law it is written thus: 'Qui illicite alium excommunicat, seipsum, non illum, condemnat.' 'He that unlawfully excommunicateth another, condemneth not him, but himself.' (*XXIV. Quæst. 3. Comperimus rubri.*) S. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Quid obest,' &c. 'What is a man the worse, if the ignorance of man strike him out of the book of the Church, if ill conscience strike him not out of the book of life?' (*Ad Cler. Hippoc.* cited in the Canon Law, *XI. Quæst. 3. Quid obest.*) In this case, S. AUGUSTINE saith, it cometh sometimes to pass, that 'Plurimi sint foris oves; et plurimi sint intus lupi.' 'there be many sheep excluded, and many wolves within.' (*In Johan. Tractat. 45.*)" *Defence*, p. 612.]

they use to say, 'with book, bell, and candle,'^b) rather than have gone away from them of ourselves.

And we are come to that Church, wherein they themselves cannot deny, (if they will say truly, and as they think in their own conscience,) but all things be governed purely and reverently, and as much as we possibly could, very near to the order used in old times.

Sect. 10. Let them compare our churches and theirs together, and they shall see, that themselves have most shamefully gone from the *Apostles*, and we most justly have gone from *them*.

For we, following the example of CHRIST, of the Apostles, and the holy fathers, give the people the holy Communion, whole and perfect.—But these men, contrary to all the fathers, to all the Apostles, and contrary to CHRIST himself, do sever the sacraments, and pluck away the one part from the people; and that with most notorious 'sacrilege,' as GELASIUS termeth it.

We have brought again the LORD's Supper unto CHRIST's institution, and have made it a *communion* in very deed, common and indifferent to a great number, according to the name. For of that it is called a "Communion."—But these men have changed all things, *contrary to CHRIST's institution*, and have made a private mass of the holy Communion. And so it cometh to pass, that we give the LORD's Supper to the people, and they give them a vain pageant to gaze upon.

We affirm, together with the ancient fathers, that the *body of CHRIST* is not eaten but of the good and faithful, and those that are endued with the SPIRIT of CHRIST.^c—

^b [This saying is derived from the usages of the Church of Rome; according to which the sentence of greater excommunication is pronounced by the priest from his *book*, according to the prescribed form; with the tinkling of a little *bell*; and the extinction of a *candle*, by dashing it upon the ground, to figure the extinction of the person excommunicated. 'Cursed with bell, book, and candle,' then, means, excommunicated with all due form.]

^c ["But S. Paul saith: 'Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the LORD, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the LORD.' (1 Cor. xi. 27.) And what will you conclude hereof, M. Harding? Even so AUGUSTINE writeth of the water of baptism: 'Baptismus valet, aliis ad regnum; aliis ad judicium.' 'Baptism is available, to some unto the kingdom of GOD; to some unto judgment.' (*Cont. Crescon. Lib. I. c. xxiii.*)—Yet ye express the matter further.

Their doctrine is, that CHRIST's *very body*, effectually, and, as they speak, *really* and *substantially*, may not

S. Paul saith: 'Whosoever shall eat and drink unworthily, shall be *guilty of the body and blood of CHRIST*.' Ergo, say you, 'CHRIST's body and blood must needs be really present.' Here, M. Harding, it were a worthy matter to see by what engines ye would prove these hasty conclusions, or how ye would force this *guilt* and this '*presence*' to go together. For think you that no man can be *guilty of the body and blood of CHRIST*, but he that hath CHRIST's body and blood *really present* in his hand? Verily, S. AUGUSTINE saith: '*Reus erit*,' &c. 'He is *guilty* of no small price, but even of the *blood of CHRIST*, that (by fornication or adultery) defileth his own soul, that was made clean by the passion and blood of CHRIST.' (*De Tempore. Serm. 20.*) Yet hath he not therefore CHRIST's *blood really present*!—ATHANASIUS saith: 'Worshipping our LORD, and not living so as is meet for our LORD, they feel not, that thereby they are made *guilty of our LORD's death*.' (*De Pass. et Cruce Domini.*) So saith GOD by the prophet Ezekiel: 'I will require the *blood of the people at thine hand*.' (*Ezek. xxxiii. 6, 8.*) and CHRIST saith: 'The *blood of all the prophets*—shall be required of this generation.' (*Luke xi. 50.*) This *guilt*, may well stand without any *real presence of the blood*, either of CHRIST, or of the prophets. Ye may well be *guilty of CHRIST's and the prophets' blood*, notwithstanding ye have neither the one nor the other *really present* in your hand.

"This, therefore, is St. Paul's meaning; that the wicked, resorting unworthily to the holy mysteries, and having no regard what is meant thereby, despise the death and cross of CHRIST, and therefore are guilty of the LORD's body and blood, that are represented in the Sacrament.—CHRYSOSTOM saith, (as he is alleged in the *Second Council of Nice*, Act. 6.) 'He that defileth the emperor's image, is injurious to the majesty of the emperor's person, that is pourtrayed in the image.' S. CYPRIAN saith: '*Impiis in morte*,' &c. 'The wicked have no gain by the death of CHRIST: but the benefits that they have despised, do most justly condemn them.' (*De Ablutione Pedum.*) To come near to the purpose, S. AUGUSTINE saith: '*Habent foris sacramentum corporis CHRISTI: sed rem ipsam non tenent intus, cujus est illud sacramentum: Et ideo sibi iudicium manducant et bibunt.*' '*Outwardly they have the sacrament of CHRIST's body: but the thing itself (which is CHRIST's body) represented by the sacrament, inwardly (in their hearts) they have not.* And therefore they eat and drink their own judgment.' (*Ad Bonifac. Ep. 50.*) Again he saith: '*Qui non manet in CHRISTO*,' &c. 'Whoso abideth not in CHRIST, nor CHRIST in him, out of doubt he eateth not spiritually his flesh, nor drinketh his blood; notwithstanding carnally (that is to say, with the bodily mouth) and visibly he do press with his teeth the *sacrament of the body and blood of CHRIST*: but rather he eateth and drinketh (not CHRIST's very body and blood, but) the *sacrament* of so great a thing unto his judgment.' (*In Johan. Tractat. 26.*) These words be so plain, that I cannot imagine what ye should more desire. They are *guilty of the blood of CHRIST*, for that they despise the price wherewith they were saved; not for that they receive it really into their mouths." *Defence*, p. 514, 515.

Other passages adduced here by JEWELL are cited from a former part of his *Defence*, in Note ^b, page 50.]

only be eaten of the wicked and unfaithful men, but also (which is monstrous and horrible to be spoken) of mice and dogs.

We use to pray in our churches after that fashion as, according to Paul's lesson,^d the people may know what we pray, and may answer *Amen* with a general consent.—These men, like sounding metal, yell out in the churches unknown and strange words without understanding, without knowledge, and without devotion: yea, and do it of purpose because the people should understand nothing at all.

Sect. 11. But, not to tarry about rehearsing all points wherein we and they differ—for they have well nigh no end: we turn the Scriptures into all tongues; they scant suffer them to be had abroad in any tongue.^e We

^d 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16, 19.

* [This expression is harsh. Yet it may be borne out by such passages as the following from the learned and pious ERASMUS, who, though he never departed from the bosom of the Church of Rome, could see her folly and feel her shame.—'Homines suaves (he is speaking of the clergy of his day) se suo officio probe perfunctos aiunt, si preculas illas suas utcumque permurmurant; quas, mehercle, demiror si quis DEUS vel audiat, vel intelligat, cum ipsi fere nec audiant nec intelligant, tum cum eas ore perstrepunt.' 'The darling men say that they have done their duty well, if they have muttered over their so called prayers after any sort; prayers, which, in sooth, I should wonder if the DEITY either heard or understood, since they themselves neither hear nor understand them, even when they bawl them loudest.' *Encomium Morie*, p. 149. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1641.—The Abbe MENAGE, a titular Romish ecclesiastic of France, has left in his collected Sayings, &c. a scandalous anecdote, the whole point of which consists in the resemblance between the chanting of an officiating Romish priest and the braying of an ass!]

^e ["We gladly suffer them to be had in every place of Christendom in the learned tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin," says HARDING in reply.

JEWELL answers: "Ye can vouchsafe to allow the Scriptures in the three learned tongues, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin! That is to say, in such sort as the simple people may in no wise touch them. But where did GOD ever sanctify these tongues, and call them *learned*? Or where were they ever so specially canonized and allowed, above all other tongues, to the custody of the Scriptures? S. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Scriptura canonica tot linguarum literis, et ordine et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur.' 'The canonical Scripture is kept in the letters of so many tongues, and by the order and succession of ecclesiastical publishing.' (*Epist.* 48.) Again he saith: 'Scriptura divina ab una lingua profecta, per varias interpretum linguas, longe

allure the people to read and to hear God's word :^c they drive the people from it. We desire to have our cause known to all the world : they flee to come to any trial. We lean unto knowledge : they unto ignorance. We trust unto light : they unto darkness. We reverence, as it becometh us, the writings of the Apostles and Prophets : and they burned them. Finally, we in God's cause desire to stand to God's only judgment : they will stand only to their own.

Wherefore, if they will weigh all these things with a quiet mind, and fully bent to hear and to learn ; they will not only allow this determination of ours, who have forsaken errors and followed CHRIST and his Apostles, but themselves also will forsake their own selves, and join of their own accord to our side, to go with us.

lateque diffusa, innotuit gentibus ad salutem.' 'The holy Scriptures, passing from one tongue, and being published abroad far and wide by sundry tongues of interpreters, have come to the knowledge of the nations to their salvation.' (*De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. c. v.*)"—*Defence*, p. 516.—He goes on to quote, to the same effect, AUGUST. *In Psalm. 105*; CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom. I. in Johan.* ; JEROME, *In Psalm. 86*; and THEODORET, *De Corrigend. Græcor. Affect. Lib. V.*]

^c ["We teach not the people to presume of knowledge :—but only we exhort them, for the better satisfaction of their consciences, to read the Scriptures, and therein to learn the good will of God. And notwithstanding ye may not allow them to be judges, (that is to say, to discern between the light of God and your darkness,) yet ye might suffer them to pick out some small crumbs that fall from the Lord's table. Howbeit SOCRATES saith : 'The simple unlearned people, in cases of truth, judgeth oftentimes more uprightly than the deepest philosophers.' (*PLATONIS Apologia Socratis.*) Likewise CHRIST saith : 'I thank thee, O Father, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.' (*Matth. xi. 25.*)"—*Defence*, p. 516.—He goes on to quote the opinions of AUGUSTIN, (*Contr. Julian. Lib. V. c. 1—Epist. 3.—In Ps. 131.*) CHRYSOSTOM, (*In Matth. Hom. 1.*) and CYRIL, (*Contr. Julian. Lib. VII.*) to the effect that the Scriptures are not unintelligible to the poor and unlearned, and that ignorance of saving truth cannot be excused on the score of difficulty in the word of God.]

CHAPTER XI.

The Use and Authority of Councils.

Sect. 1. But peradventure they will say it was treason to attempt these matters without a sacred *General Council*: for that therein consisteth the whole force of the Church; there CHRIST hath promised that he will ever be a present assistant.^b Yet they themselves, without tarrying for any General Council, have broken the commandments of God and the decrees of the Apostles, and, as we said a little above, they have spoiled and disannulled almost all, not only the ordinances, but even the doctrine of the primitive Church.

And where they say, It is not lawful to make a change without a Council:—what was he that gave us these laws? or from whence had they this injunction?

Indeed king Agesilaus did but fondly in this behalf, who, when he had a determinate answer made him of the opinion and will of mighty Jupiter, would afterward bring the whole matter before Apollo, to know whether he would allow thereof, as his father Jupiter had done, or no. But yet should we do much more fondly, when we hear God himself plainly speak to us in his most holy Scriptures, and may understand by them his will and meaning, if we would afterward (as though this were of none effect) bring our whole cause to be tried by a Council: which were nothing else but to ask whether men would allow as God did, and whether men would confirm God's commandment by their authority.ⁱ

^b [The allusion is to Matth. xviii. 20.]

ⁱ ["TERTULLIAN thus upbraideth the Heathens: 'Apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensatur.' 'Among you the right of the DEITY is weighed by the judgment of men.' (in *Apologetico*.) But CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS saith: 'Forasmuch as the Word itself (that is, CHRIST) is come to us from heaven, we may not now any more seek unto the doctrine of man.' (in *Orat. ad Gent.*) Likewise S. CHRYSOSTOM saith: 'It had been great folly for St. Paul, having received his doctrine from God himself, afterward to confer thereof with men,' (in *Ep. ad Galat.* c. 1.) that is to say, with Peter, or James, or with any others." *Defence*, p. 520.]

Sect. 2. Why, I beseech you; except a Council will and command, shall not *truth* be *truth*, or God be God? If CHRIST had meant to do so from the beginning, as that he would preach or teach nothing without the bishops' consent, but refer all his doctrine over to Annas and Caiaphas, where should now have been the Christian faith? Or who at any time should have heard the gospel taught? Peter, verily—whom the Pope hath oftener in his mouth, and more reverently useth to speak of, than he doth of JESUS CHRIST—did boldly stand against the *holy council*, saying, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."^k And after that Paul had once entirely embraced the gospel, and had received it, not from men, nor by man, but by the only will of God,^l "he conferred not with flesh and blood,"^m nor brought his case before his kinsmen and brethren, but went forth-with into Arabia,ⁿ to preach God's divine mysteries by God's only authority.

Sect. 3. Yet truly we do not despise Councils, assemblies, and conferences of bishops and learned men: neither have we done that we have done altogether without bishops, or without a Council. The matter hath been treated in open parliament,^o with long consultation, and before a notable Synod and convocation.^p

^k Acts iv. 19.

^l Gal. 1. 12.

^m Gal. i. 16.

ⁿ Gal. i. 17.

^o [JEWELL refers to the first parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, held in 1559, in which the royal supremacy, and the Book of Common Prayer, somewhat altered from the form given it under Edward the Sixth, were established by law. A formal conference between nine theologians of either party was commenced during the sitting of this parliament, but broken off by the defection of the Romish disputants. The debates in both houses of parliament were full and protracted. The two houses of Convocation (the Bishops, and delegates from the clergy of the inferior orders) also, sat at the same time.]

^p [JEWELL's cause would have been no worse, had it wanted this plea. The best friends of the Church of England have ever been ready to acknowledge that it would have been happy had *parliament* possessed a far less conspicuous share in its reformation. The measure was one of *necessity*: for although the great body of the people, and the principal nobility, were friendly to the reformation, yet a large majority of the clergy retained their attachment to the distinguishing dogmas of Popery, and were strenuous in their opposition to the measures taken for their suppression. Left to themselves, they would, in

But touching this Council which is now summoned by Pope Pius [IV.],^a wherein men so lightly are condemned, being neither called, nor heard, nor seen; it is easy to guess what we may look for or hope of it. In times

all probability, have relapsed into quiet submission to the yoke of Rome. Lay influence was the instrument employed by the providence of God to effect the purification of his Church. But these extraordinary means, adapted to the exigencies of the case, can hardly afford ground of boasting; or even of defence, if defence were needed. They were no *modification* of the ordinary machinery of the Church, but a *substitute* provided to perform its office, for which it was incapacitated by its corruption.

JEWELL'S argument from the intervention of *parliament* in the regulation of the Church of England is based on the admission that a *Council* is indispensable. Yet to give it validity on that ground, it would be necessary to show the identity of a *Council* in the ecclesiastical sense of the term, with the *Parliament*—a political assembly convened for political purposes. This it would be impossible to do: and in consequence the argument falls to the ground; while the imprudent admission of the necessity of a *Council* would bear with all its weight against the Reformation.

There is much more sound wisdom in the following paragraph of the *Defence*:—"We will not discuss the right and interest of the Parliaments of England. As much as concerneth GOD's everlasting truth, we hold not *by Parliament*, but *by GOD*. Parliaments are uncertain, and often contrary, as we have seen: but GOD's truth is one, and certain, and never changeth."

JEWELL'S answer to the reproach that the Reformation was a *work of parliament*, which his adversary eagerly embraced the opportunity, afforded him by the argument in the text, to cast, is worth transcription.—"Further, whereas ye call the doctrine of CHRIST, that now, by GOD's great mercy, and to your great grief, is universally and freely preached, a *parliament religion*, and a *parliament gospel*, ye might have remembered, that CHRIST himself at the beginning was universally received and honoured through this realm by assent of parliament: and further, that without parliament your Pope himself was never received, no, not in the late time of Queen Mary.—Therefore, as ye now call the truth of GOD that we profess a *parliament religion*, and a *parliament gospel*; even so, with like sobriety and gravity of speech, ye might have said our fathers in old times had a *parliament CHRIST*, and your late fathers and brethren had of late, in the time of Queen Mary, a *parliament faith*, a *parliament mass*, and a *parliament Pope*." p. 521, 522.]

^a [The Council of Trent. See Notes v, page 22; and z, page 23.]

^r ["In your old Latin translation of the Bible, there be sundry errors, so open and so gross, that a very babe may soon espy them: as it may more plainly appear by BUDEUS, ERASMUS, VALLA, FABER, LINDANUS, and others [who have at various times published criticisms, or lists of the errors in the Vulgate.] Yet, that notwithstanding, your Council saith precisely thus: 'Ne quis veterem vulgatam editionem

past, when NAZIANZEN saw in his days how men in such assemblies were so blind and wilful, that they were carried with affections, and laboured more to get the victory than the truth, he pronounced openly, that "he never had seen good end of any Council."¹ What would he say now, if he were alive at this day, and understood the heaving and shoving of these men? For at that time, though the matter were laboured on all sides, yet the controversies were well heard, and open errors were put clean away by the general voice of all parts. But these men will neither have the case to be freely disputed, nor yet, how many errors soever there be, suffer they any to be changed. For it is a common custom of theirs, often and shamelessly to boast, that *their Church cannot err*—that *in it there is no fault*—and that *they must give place to us in nothing*: or, if there be any fault, yet must it be tried by *their bishops and abbots only*, because they be the directors and rulers of matters; for that they be the Church of God. ARISTOTLE saith, that "a city cannot consist of bastards." Now, whether the Church of God may consist of these men, let themselves consider. For doubtless, neither be their abbots, *Abbots* indeed,² nor their bishops such natural right *Bishops* as they ought to be.

Sect. 4. But grant they be the Church: let them be heard speak in Councils: let them alone have authority

rejecere quovis prætextu audeat, vel præsumat.' 'Let no man dare or presume by any manner of colour to refuse the old common translation of the Bible.' (*Conc. Trid. Sess. IV. Sacrosancta Œcumenica.*) As if your Councils were purposely summoned to maintain errors. If ye will so wilfully deceive us in sensible matters, how may we then trust you in matters of faith?" *Defence*, p. 523.]

¹ GREGOR. NAZIANZ. *ad Procopium*. ["These words, thus uttered, whether they be universally true or otherwise, I will not reason. It may seem hereby, this learned father, for his time, by experience found them true. And for aught that may appear to the contrary, he seemeth to utter the same as well of *General Councils*, as of *Provincial*." *Defence*, p. 524.]

² ["The abbots and monks that were in old times, were men given to study and learning. And out of monasteries learned men were then taken, as out of schools and universities, to the rule and government of the Church. (*AUGUST. Epist. 76. 81.*) But your abbots now, are as much like those abbots, as your Church is like the primitive Church of CHRIST." *Defence*, p. 525.]

to give consent. Yet in old times, when the Church of God (if ye will compare it with their Church) was very well governed; both elders^u and deacons, as saith St. CYPRIAN,^v and certain also of the common people, were called thereunto, and made acquainted with ecclesiastical matters.^w

Sect. 5. But I put case, these abbots and bishops have no knowledge. What if they understand nothing, what religion is, nor how we ought to think of God?

^u [So Lady Bacon renders JEWELL's Latin 'presbyteri.'—HARDING objects to it, as a false translation. JEWELL replies: "'Priests,' ye say, 'this youthful gentlewoman interpreteth elders.' Oh, M. Harding, little needeth that godly learned and virtuous lady to fear your so unmanly and childish toys. If ye had been either so sagely studied as ye pretend, and your friends have thought, ye might soon have learned that 'presbyter'—a priest, is nothing else but 'senior,' that is, an elder; and that a priest and an elder are both one thing."—*Defence*, p. 527.]

^v ["CYPRIAN saith: 'A primordio episcopatus mei statui nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia, gerere.' 'From my first entering into the bishopric, I have determined to do nothing by mine own authority, without your advice, (being the priests and deacons,) and without the consent of the people.' (Lib. III. *Epist.* 10.) For doing the contrary hereof, the ancient father ORIGEN (*In Exod.* Hom. 11.) rebuketh bishops of pride and stateliness." *Defence*, p. 527.]

^w ["St. Luke—speaking of the first Christian Council, holden in the apostles' time, saith thus: 'The apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter.' (*Acts* xv. 6.) And again in the conclusion, 'Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole Church.' (r. 22.) Here, you see, the apostles and elders give their voices together. NICEPHORUS saith: Ἀθανάσιος, τῶν χορῶν μὲν τῶν διακόνων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ἡγουμένους· μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ βουλῆς ἦν. 'Athanasius, being (not a bishop but) the leader of the band of deacons in Alexandria, was not the least part of the council' of Nice. (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. VIII. c. xv.) TERTULLIAN saith: 'Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.' 'The judges (in such ecclesiastical assemblies) be the best allowed elders, having obtained that honour, not for money, but by the witness of their brethren.' (*Apologet.* c. xxxix.)*—And in the Second Council of Nice, Peter Protopresbyter, and Peter Presbyter, not being bishops, but only priests, sent thither by Adrian the bishop of Rome, gave their assents, and subscribed their names, before all the bishops."—*Defence*, p. 527.]

* [Certainly JEWELL has both misapplied and mistranslated this passage from TERTULLIAN. By the consent of all writers on ecclesiastical antiquities, it refers to the ordinary meetings of Christians for public worship, not to the extraordinary 'ecclesiastical assemblies' called Councils. And in such meetings TERTULLIAN does not say that the elders (all allow that he means the clergy) 'judge,' but that they 'preside.']

I put case, the pronouncing and ministering of the Law be decayed in priests, and good counsel fail in the elders, and, as the prophet Micah saith, "the night be unto them, that they shall not have a vision, and it be dark unto them, that they shall not divine."^x Or, as Isaiah saith, what if "the watchmen are blind?"^y What if "the salt have lost his savour," and, as CHRIST saith, "be thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men?"^z

Sect. 6. Well yet, then, they will bring all matters before *the Pope*, who cannot err.

To this I say, first, it is a madness to think that the HOLY GHOST taketh his flight from a General Council to run to Rome, to the end if he doubt, or stick in any matter, and cannot expound it of himself, he may take counsel of some other spirit, I wot not what, that is better learned than himself! For if this be true, what needed so many bishops, with so great charges and so far journies, to have assembled their convocation at this present at Trent? It had been more wisdom and better, at least it had been a much nearer and handsomer way, to have brought all things rather before the Pope, and to have come straight forth, and have asked counsel at his divine breast.^a

^x Micah iii. 6.

^y Isaiah lvi. 10.

^z Matth. v. 13.

^a [It is the belief of the Church of Rome, based upon a misunderstanding of Acts xv. 28. in connexion with her own extravagant claims to equality in all things with the Apostolic Church, that the peculiar influences of the HOLY SPIRIT are vouchsafed to her Councils, as an infallible preservative from error. The glaring inconsistency of this belief with the pretensions of the Pope to a right of appeal from all Councils—even a General Council, is what JEWELL holds up to derision in the text. HARDING upbraids him with 'jesting in things touching God himself'—'setting light by the HOLY GHOST'—'talking unreverently, and like a Christian hick-scorner.' JEWELL replies:—

"We jest not at GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT. We know it is the same SPIRIT of wisdom that hath renewed the face of the world, and discovered the multitude of your follies. But well may we jest at your unhandsome and open legerdemain, that so vainly seek to blind us with a painted shadow of the SPIRIT OF GOD. Ye pretend long prayers, much fasting, great conference of doctors and Scriptures, and the undoubted presence and assistance of GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT in all your doings, and yet openly strive against the manifest Word and SPIRIT OF GOD, and follow only your own spirit, which we may truly call the *spirit of vanity*. The spirit that you mean, is nothing else

Secondly, it is also an unlawful dealing, to toss our matter from so many bishops and abbots, and to bring it at last to the trial of one only man; ^b specially of

but the *spirit of Rome*, which, you say, is 'the spirit of truth,' and cannot err. In one of your late Councils holden at Rome, as ye were singing and roaring out *Veni Creator Spiritus*, a poor old owl, amazed with the noise, leaped out of the hole where she sat, and pitched down in the midst, and sat among you. (*Nicolaus de Clavengius.*) Thus it pleased GOD to discover your hypocrisy, and your folly, that the world might know in what spirit ye were assembled.

"Elias, the prophet of GOD, jested thus at the priests of Baal: 'Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.' (1 *Kings* xviii. 27.) Yet neither was Elias a 'hick-scorner,' nor jested he at GOD's HOLY SPIRIT, nor did he any thing that was unseemly for his person.

"As for your Councils; whether they be all and evermore summoned by the SPIRIT OF GOD, or no, it may well be doubted. The University of Paris thus protested, by way of appeal, against Pope Leo the Tenth, and his Council of Rome: '*Dominus Leo Papa Decimus,*' &c. 'Our Lord Pope Leo the Tenth, in a certain Council gathered in the city of Rome, by what mean we know not, but surely not by the SPIRIT OF GOD.' (*Apellatio Univrs. Par. Anno 1517.*) And touching your late Chapter, or Conventicle, which ye call the *Council of Trent*, the French king's ambassador, being there in presence, saith thus: '*Minus legitima,*' &c. 'The saying is, that these were neither lawful, nor free Councils. The bishops that were there, spake (not always of the SPIRIT OF GOD, but) evermore to please some other: by which other he meant the Pope. (*Orat. Synod. Anno 1562.*)'—*Defence*, p. 529, 530.]

^b [Notwithstanding her belief of the guiding presence of the HOLY SPIRIT in Councils, securing their infallibility; the Church of Rome maintains that their decrees (even those of a General Council) are not binding, unless ratified by the Pope. To this strange pretension JEWELL here alludes. He adds, in the *Defence*: "Concerning the confirmation of Councils, we have spoken elsewhere (*Reply to Harding's Answer to the Sermon at Paul's Cross*, Art. IV. Div. 26.) more at large. Councils were confirmed not only by the bishop of Rome, but also by other bishops and patriarchs: and not only by other bishops, but also by kings and emperors. The emperor Marcian saith: 'By the holy edict of our majesty we confirm this reverend Council.' (*Conc. Chalcedon. Act. 3.*) Likewise the bishops in the Council of Constantinople besought the emperor Theodosius: 'We beseech your clemency, that by your majesty's letters ye will ratify and confirm the decrees of the Council.' (*Conc. Constantinop. 1.*) Touching the Council of the Apostles at Jerusalem, your own doctor saith: '*Postquam Petrus dixisset, Jacobus, auctoritate pontificali, protulit definitivam sententiam.*' 'When Peter had said his mind, James, by his episcopal authority, pronounced the definitive sentence.' (*JO. DE PARISIIIS, Cap. 14.*) That is to say, he gave his confirmation to the whole. By which say-

him who himself is appeached by us of heinous and foul enormities, and hath not yet put in his answer; who hath also aforehand condemned us, without judgment by order pronounced, and ere ever we were called to be judged.

Sect. 7. How say ye? Do we devise these tales? Is not this the very course of the Councils in these days? Are not all things removed from the whole holy Council, and brought before the Pope alone: that as though nothing had been done to purpose by the judgments and consents of such a number, he alone may add, alter, diminish, disannul, allow, remit, and qualify, whatsoever he list? Whose words be these, then? And why have the bishops and abbots in the late Council at Trent concluded thus at the end: "Saving always the authority of the See Apostolic in all things?"^c Or why doth Pope Paschal^d write so proudly of himself? "As though" saith he "there were any General Council able to prescribe a law to the Church of Rome: whereas all Councils both have been made, and have received their force and strength, by the authority of the Church of Rome; and in ordinances made by Councils is ever plainly ex-

ing it may appear, that James was in authority above Peter: for he that pronounceth *definitive sentence*, in all assemblies is ever the greatest.

"To conclude; Councils have been allowed, and holden for good, whether the bishop of Rome would or no. LIBERATUS saith, when Anatolius by consent of the Council of Chalcedon had obtained the primacy, and the bishop of Rome's legates stood against it, their gain-saying of the judges and bishops there was not received. 'And notwithstanding the apostolic see of Rome even hitherto stand against it, yet the decree of the Council, by the authority and maintenance of the emperor, after a sort (*quodammodo*) standeth still in force.' (LIBERAT. Cap. 13.)"—*Defence*, p. 530, 531.]

^c "Postremo S. Synodus omnia et singula sub quibuscunque clausulis et verbis, quæ de morum reformatione atque ecclesiastica disciplina, tam sub felicibus recordationis Paulo III. ac Julio III, quam sub beatissimo Pio IV. Pontificibus Maximis, in hoc sacro Concilio statuta sunt; declarat, ~~ita~~ decreta fuisse, ut in his salva semper auctoritas Sedis Apostolicæ, et sit, et esse intelligatur." *Conc. Trid. Decret. Sess. XXV. Cap. xxi. De Reform.*—p. 627 ed. Col. Ag. 1722.

^d [Paschal II. succeeded Urban II. in the Papacy in 1099, and died in 1118. He was involved in perpetual disputes on the subject of investitures, with Henry I. of England and the emperor Henry IV., the last of whom he de-throned, by intriguing with his rebellious subjects." See Note 7, page 108.]

cepted the authority of the Roman bishop."• If they will have these things allowed for good, why be Councils called? But if they command them to be void, why are they left in their books for good?

Sect. 8. But be it so. Let the bishop of Rome, alone, be above all Councils—that is to say, let some one part be greater than the whole.^f Let him be of greater power, let him be of more wisdom, than all his :^g and in spite of

* "Quasi Romanæ Ecclesiæ legem Concilia ulla præfixerint, cum omnia Concilia per Romani pontificis auctoritatem, et facta sint, et robur acceperint : et in eorum statutis Romani pontificis, patenter excipiat auctoritas." *De Elect. et electi Potest. Cap. Significasti.* †

† ["The whole we speak of, is the whole Church of CHRIST. And I trow, by your learning, the Pope is a *part*, or member of the same. Otherwise ye must tell us, that the Pope is no part of the Church of CHRIST. Which thing, all circumstances considered, were not hard to be granted.

• But 'the Pope,' say you, 'being but a *part*, is greater than the whole Church.' *Ergo*, say I, it must needs follow, that *the part is greater than the whole*.—GERSON, the director of the Council of Constance, saw this, and uttered it above a hundred and fifty years ago. These be his words : 'Querere utrum,' &c. 'To demand whether the authority of the Pope be greater than the authority of the Church, is as much as if a man would demand *whether the whole be greater than the part*.' (*De Potest. Eccles. Consid. 7.*)"—*Defence*, p. 533.

This reasoning is inserted, because it has a specious show, and because JEWELL seems to lay stress upon it. But surely it is false! The Pope is a *part* of the Church; therefore when he dissents, the Council, however general, cannot be the *whole* : and however unfounded and untrue the assertion may be, it involves nothing *absurdum in se*, to say that the dissentient *part* is greater than the *remainder*.]

‡ ["Some of your friends have said : 'Si totus mundus,' &c. 'If the whole world should give sentence in any matter against the Pope, it seemeth we ought rather to stand with the Pope's judgment.' (IX. *Quest. 3. Nemo. In Glossa.*) ALBERTUS PIGHIUS saith : 'Certius est iudicium,' &c. 'The judgment of the Pope is more certain than is the judgment of a General Council, or of all the whole world.' (*Eccles. Hierarch. Lib. VI. cap. xiii.*) Another saith : 'Potestas solius Papæ,' &c. 'The power of the Pope alone exceedeth the power of all the Church beside.' (Petrus de Palude *De Potest. Papæ. Art. 4.*) Another saith : 'Papa non potest,' &c. 'The Pope cannot submit himself to a General Council.' (Jo. ANDREÆ in *Extr. de Judiciis. Cum venissent.*)—Upon these worthy foundations ye have built up the Pope's infinite and universal power.

• All this notwithstanding, others of your more indifferent doctors would have told you another tale. S. BERNARD saith : 'Quis major superbia,' &c. 'What greater pride can there be, than that one man should esteem his own judgment more than the judgment of all the Church, as if he only had the SPIRIT OF GOD?' (Cited by PICUS

JEROME's head let "the authority of one city be greater than the authority of the whole world."^a

How then, if the Pope have seen none of these things; and have never read either the Scriptures, or the old fathers, or yet his own Councils?ⁱ—How if he favour the Arians, as once *Pope Liberius* did?^k or have a

MIRANDULUS in *Quæst. An Papa sit supra Concilium?*) Whereunto PICUS MIRANDULUS addeth these words: 'Imo, simplici potius' &c. 'Nay, we ought to believe a simple plain countryman, or a child, or an old woman, rather than the Pope and a thousand bishops, if the Pope and the bishops speak against the Gospel, and the others speak with the Gospel.' (*In eodem loco.*)"—*Defence*, p. 533.

JEWELL goes on to quote, at considerable length, the opinions of the bishops assembled in the Councils of Ferrara (A. D. 1438) and of Basle, (A. D. 1431—1440) and that of Cardinal CUSANUS, (*De Concord. Lib. II. cap. xvii.*) to the same effect with those of BERNARD and PICUS.

PETRUS DE PALUDE, quoted in the former part of this note, and in several in preceding pages, was an eminent doctor of the Sorbonne, and teacher of scholastic theology, in the fourteenth century. He was made titular Patriarch of Jerusalem by Pope John XXII. in 1329, and died in 1342.

JOHN ANDRÆ made himself celebrated by his lectures on the Canon Law, delivered in the public schools of Padua and Bologna, in the early part of the fourteenth century, and by his published commentaries on the same subjects. His morals were no better than the specimen of his theology quoted by JEWELL; for several scandalous anecdotes are told concerning him.

PICUS MIRANDULUS distinguished himself among the restorers of learning in the fifteenth century, by his thirst for various knowledge, his wonderful capacity, and his liberal affection for the arts and sciences. He was born a prince, but resigned his dignity for literary leisure, and after having almost monopolized the admiration of the good, and the envy of his unsuccessful rivals in learned pursuits, died at the early age of thirty-three, in 1494. Things almost incredible are related of the extent of his erudition, and his publications prove that it was united with a solid judgment, and fervent piety.]

^a *Epist. ad Evagrium.* [See Note ^b on page 35.]

ⁱ ["Concerning the Pope's great and high learning, ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO saith: 'Constat,' &c. 'It is certainly known, that sundry Popes have been so unskilful in learning, that they never understood their grammar.' (*Contra Hæres. Lib. I. cap. iv.*) And this he speaketh, not of one Pope only, but of sundry."—*Defence*, p. 536.

ALPHONSO DE CASTRO was a native of Spain, and accompanied Philip II., the husband of the bloody Mary, into England. He attained considerable eminence among the Romanists as a theologian, and was nominated to the Archbishopric of Compostella in Spain, at the time of his death, in 1568. His historical and controversial work *Against Heresies*, (quoted by JEWELL,) is the most esteemed of his productions.]

^k ["Where we say 'Liberius favoured the Arians,' that, ye say, is stark false. And yet, ye know S. JEROME is the reporter of that falsehood. (HIERON. *de Eccles. Scriptor. in Fortunatiano.*) 'But S. JE-

wicked and a detestable opinion of the life to come, and of the immortality of the soul, as *Pope John* had, but few years since?¹ or, to increase his own dignity, do now corrupt other Councils, as *Pope Zosimus* corrupted the Council holden at Nice in times past;² and

ROME,' ye say, 'was deceived.' In such reverence and regard ye have the doctors and learned fathers of the Church. Ye believe them no farther than ye list.—If S. JEROME's authority suffice you not, ye may also take the authority of S. AUGUSTINE. For S. AUGUSTINE saith, as he is alleged by Cardinal CUSANUS, (*De Concord. Lib. II. cap. v.*) that Pope Liberius gave his hand and consent unto the Arians."—*Defence*, p. 538.

JEWELL goes on to quote the consentient testimonies of several modern writers, which it is needless to quote, as at the present day the fact of the (perhaps constrained) approbation of Arianism by Pope Liberius, is admitted as incontestable by all.]

¹ [That John XXII. who succeeded Clement V. in the Papacy, at Avignon, in 1316, and died in 1344, maintained opinions respecting the future state of the soul contrary to the Romish standard of faith, is now admitted even by historians of that Church. HARDING raises many cavils against JEWELL's statement of the fact, with the view of discrediting the whole story; and thus gives occasion to five folio pages of reply in the *Defence*. Without entering into the minute details, it may suffice to remark that there is error on both sides: on that of HARDING in denying, on that of JEWELL in exaggerating, or misunderstanding, the error of Pope John. That Pontiff merely denied the *beatific vision of the DEITY by the souls of the faithful* in the interval between death and the final judgment: an error, (if such it be,) surely undeserving of the names of *heresy* or 'detestable opinion.' The history of the propagation of this notion by the Pope; of the opposition made to it by Philip, king of France, and, in subservience to him, by the French divines; of the Pope's endeavours to maintain it; of his reluctant efforts to conciliate his opponents without relinquishing his opinion; and of his final tardy retractation on his deathbed 'so far as it was inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church;'—furnishes a melancholy scene of weakness, bigotry, and disingenuous equivocation.]

² ["The whole story standeth thus: One Apiarius, a priest of the church of Sicca, in Africa, as it appeareth a very ill man, being justly excommunicate, both by his own bishop, and also by a great number of other bishops together in the Council there, appealed from them all unto Zosimus, then bishop of Rome [A. D. 419]. Zosimus, without further knowledge of the cause, never hearing the other party, pronounced Apiarius to be innocent, and restored him to the communion; and understanding there was a council gathered together in Africa touching the same, sent thither Faustinus the bishop of Potentia, with two other priests of Rome, Philip and Asellus, not only to see that the said Apiarius, without any further trial, might be restored unto his right, but also to make plea in the open Council, that it should be lawful for any priest to appeal from his own ordinary, or metropolitan, or Council, unto the apostolic see of Rome. The bishops of Africa answered, that there was no law it should be so. Faustinus laid forth a canon

do say that those things were devised and appointed by the holy fathers, which never once came into their

of the Council of Nice, not made by the authority of the bishops there but only devised by the bishop of Rome. The bishops there, among whom was S. AUGUSTIN, that famous learned father, thought it was a forged matter, and therefore said, they would send unto Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, for the very original copies of the said Council: and desired the bishop of Rome to do the same; and said, that in the mean while they would do as they had done before. (*Conc. Carthag. VI. Can. 3 et 4.*) Upon this message, and return of the answer with the true authentic copies from Cyril the bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, it appeared plainly unto the world that the Canons were corrupted, and that the Pope had falsified that holy Council; and to the intent to advance his apostolic see of Rome, had devised privileges and prerogatives of his own.—The bishop of Rome, when he saw he was taken with the manner, and found an open falsary, [forger,] for that the Canons of his making disagreed from the very originals, thought it good policy to say, The originals were burned by the Arians, and so no true copy now remaining, but his only. And therefore he imagined a letter to be written in the name of Athanasius, and other bishops of Egypt, unto Marcus the bishop of Rome; wherein they besought him for a copy of the Nicene Council, for that all their books were utterly destroyed. But this shift was too simple—for he writeth unto Marcus the bishop of Rome, of the burning of the books; and yet Athanasius himself certainly knew, that Marcus was dead at the least nine years before that burning happened.”—JEWELL'S *Reply to Harding's Answer to the Sermon at Paul's Cross.*

JEWELL goes on, in that work, to adduce other internal evidence proving the grossness of the forgery of the letter of Athanasius, brought to bear out the first falsification of the Nicene Canons. In the *Defence*, his attention is occupied with the subterfuge of HARDING, who, unable to defend the spurious Canons of the Nicene Council, changed his ground, and to save the memory of Zosimus from the odious charge of forgery, contended that although not *Nicene* canons, they were the genuine canons of another Council held at Sardica [A. D. 347]; and that as such they had been produced by the Pope. JEWELL shows, from Cardinal CUSANUS, 1. that it is very doubtful whether the Canon cited by Zosimus was really passed by the Council of Sardica; 2. that if it were, it was not cited as such by the Pope, but *deceitfully*, by a false title; and 3. that the authority of the Council of Sardica was so far from being equal with that of Nice, as contended by HARDING, that it was neither a General Council, nor free from suspicion of heresy.—His remarks on the whole transaction are just and forcible;—“If this were all the fault, yet were it a great fault for CHRIST'S Vicar, and St. Peter's successor, in maintenance of his own inordinate ambition, to allege one Council for another, and therewith to face down two hundred and seventeen bishops in general Council. If it were the Council of Sardica, and not of Nice, why then did Pope Zosimus so often and so stoutly allege it for the *Council of Nice*? How durst he say he had seen it, he had read it, and had the very true copy of it in his library at Rome? Why did he cause the bishops of Africa to send so many hundred miles, to Constantinople in Thrace, to Alexandria in

thought? and, to have the full sway of authority, do wrest the Scriptures, which thing, as CAMOTENSIS saith, is an usual custom with the Popes?—How if he have renounced the faith of CHRIST, and become an apostate, as LYRANUS saith many Popes have been?—Yet, for

Egypt, and to Antioch in Syria, to search the originals of the Council of Nice, himself knowing there was no such thing written in the Council of Nice? Was this plain dealing? Was this no corruption of a Council? The Law saith: 'Magna negligentia culpa est: Magna culpa dolus est.' 'Great negligence is a fault, and a great fault is guile and falsehood.'—Yet Pope Boniface, [the successor of Zosimus,] to save the credit of the see of Rome, was forced to say, and publish openly, that the said Alypius, and Aurelius the bishop of Carthage, and S. Augustine the bishop of Hippo, and two hundred and fourteen other bishops, that had espied and revealed this falsehood, were all inflamed and led by the devil. And one of your own sudden doctors of Louvain saith: 'Hæc omnia,' &c. 'All these decrees (of those Councils, of Carthage and Africa,) are abolished, and repealed, and trodden under foot, as dreams, and fables, and things superfluous.' (COPUS, p. 93.) 'This is the weighing of your Councils. If they like [suit] you, they are the express voices of the HOLY GHOST. If they like you not, they are 'dreams, and fables, and things superfluous.'—*Defence*, p. 513, 514.]

His words, alleged by CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, (*De Vanit. Scient.*) be these: "Angelis præcipiunt: potestatem habent in mortuos. Vim faciunt Scripturis, ut habeant plenitudinem potestatis. Ipse Papa jam factus est intolerabilis: ejus pompam et fastum nullus tyrannorum unquam æquavit. Legati Romanorum Pontificum sic bacchantur in provinciis ac si ad flagellandam Ecclesiam Satan egressus sit a facie Domini." "They lay their commandments upon the angels of GOD: they have power over the dead. They wrest and rack the Scriptures, that they may have the fulness of power. The Pope himself is now become intolerable. No tyrant was ever able to match him in pomp and pride. The Pope's Legates keep such revel in kingdoms and countries, as if Satan were sent abroad from the face of the LORD, to scourge the face of the Church."

[HARDING in his *Reply* denies any knowledge of such a writer as CAMOTENSIS, unless that were an error of the press for CARNOTENSIS, and JEWELL meant IVO CARNOTENSIS. JEWELL denies that there is any error of the press, declares that he means a bishop named JOHN CAMOTENSIS, and expressly distinguishes him from JOHN SARISBURIENSIS, who, he says, is otherwise called RUPERTUS CARNOTENSIS.—Yet I cannot help suspecting that, after all, the writer whom JEWELL quotes, confessedly at second-hand, is JOHN OF SALISBURY, called also, from his bishopric, CARNOTENSIS; a learned scholastic theologian of the twelfth century, who in his writings freely inveighed against the Papal tyranny, at the time when the lordly usurpations of the bishop of Rome were at their height.]

• ["In his notes upon the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew, among others ye shall find these words: 'Ex hoc patet, quod Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ vel secularis: quia multi principes et summi pontifices inveniuntur apos-

all this, shall the HOLY GHOST, with turning of a hand, knock at his breast, and even whether he will or no—yea, wholly against his will, kindle him a light, so as he may not err ?” Shall he straightway be the headspring

tatasse a fide. ‘Hereby it appeareth that the Church standeth not upon men, in consideration either of their power, or of their dignity, either ecclesiastical or temporal.’—*Defence*, p. 537.

NICOLAS DE LYRA (*i. e.* of Lyra, or Lires, in Normandy, his native place,) is among the most eminent of the commentators on the Bible preceding the Reformation. He flourished in the fourteenth century, and left a bulky exposition of the Old and New Testament, in a series of elaborate glosses, called *Postils*. He possessed the qualification in his day so rare, of a knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures; and his free and generally literal expositions were thought to have contributed so greatly towards the rise of the Reformation, that the monkish distich

“*Si Lyra non lyrasset, Luther non saltasset,*”*

in punning allusion to his name, gained very general currency and assent. Yet his commentary was once of great weight in the Romish Church, and is still quoted as possessing considerable authority.]

P [“STANIELAUS HOSIUS, the greatest stickler of that side, blusheth not to say thus: ‘Numerentur omnes,’ &c. ‘Reckon all the Popes that ever were, from Peter until this Julius [the Third] that now is: there never sat in this chair any Arian, any Donatist, any Pelagian, or any other that professed any manner of heresy.’ (*In Conf. Petricorians*, c. 29.)—Howbeit, that your unlearned reader may the better consider, how safely he may give credit to your bare word; whether *the Pope may be deceived in faith or no*, it may easily appear by these few examples.”—He goes on to adduce *Pope Marcellinus*, who sacrificed to idols; another bishop of Rome said by *TERTULLIAN* to have patronized the Montanists; *Pope Liberius*, an Arian; *Pope Honorius*, condemned as a heretic by two General Councils; *Pope Anastasius*, a favourer of the Nestorians; *Pope Hildebrand*, whose decrees were condemned as heretical by a Roman synod; *Pope Sylvester*, suspected of necromancy; *Pope Eugenius*, condemned by the Council of Basle; and *Pope John XXII.* who maintained erroneous sentiments relative to the departed soul. For all these instances he brings vouchers of authority acknowledged by the Papists themselves. Thence he draws his conclusions:—“Now, if idolaters, Montanists, Arians, Monothelites, Nestorians, deniers of the immortality, simonists, sorcerers, maintainers of filthiness, and other obstinate and wilful heretics may err; then it is easily seen that *the Pope may err*. Verily, the Council of Basle saith thus: ‘Multi ex summis,’ &c. ‘It is reported and read, that many Popes have fallen into errors and heresies:—it is certain, that the Pope may err:—the Council hath oftentimes condemned and removed the Pope, in respect as well of his heresy in *faith*, as of his lewdness in *life*.’ (*Conc. Bas. inter Epist. Synodales.*)”—He proceeds in the citation of passages to the same effect from several authorities of high standing in the Romish Church; concluding: “Your own doctor, ALPHONSO DE

* If Lyra had never piped, Luther would never have danced

of all right; and shall all the treasures of wisdom and understanding be found in him, as it were laid up in store?—Or, if these things be not in him, can he give a right and apt judgment of so weighty matters?⁹ Or, if he be not able to judge, would he have that those matters should be brought before him alone?

Sect. 9. What will ye say, if the Pope's advocates, abbots and bishops, dissemble not the matter, but show themselves open enemies to the gospel; and though they see, yet will not see but wry [pervert] the Scriptures, and wittingly and knowingly corrupt and counterfeit the word of God; and foully and wickedly apply to the Pope all the same things which evidently and properly be spoken of the person of CHRIST only, nor by no means can be applied to any other? And what though they say, "The Pope is all, and above all?" Or, "that the Pope can do as much as CHRIST can do?" And, "that one judgment place, and one council house, serveth for the Pope, and for CHRIST, both together?" Or, "that the Pope is the same *light which should come into the world*?" which words CHRIST spake of himself alone. And, "that whoso is an evil doer, hateth and

CASTRO, saith: 'Non credo aliquem esse,' &c. 'I do not believe that any one can be so *shameless a flatterer of the Pope*, as to grant him the prerogative, that he can never err, nor be deceived in expounding of the Scriptures.' (*Cont. Hæres. Lib. I. c. iv.*)—"Defence, p. 537.

This point is deserving of more attention than its evident clearness seems to require, because the *infallibility* which is claimed by the Church of Rome, *must ultimately* be lodged in the Pope: if proved to be wanting in *his case*, it is shown to be a nonentity.]

⁹ ["'But,' you say, 'CHRIST *hath prayed for Peter*, and made sure promise that his faith should never fail.' Therefore the Pope is wise! the Pope is learned! the Pope is Catholic! the Pope cannot err! All this, and a great deal more, the Pope may claim only by virtue of CHRIST's prayer! Now, therefore, if the Pope should err, or be in heresy, he might sue CHRIST in an action of covenant, and require him to perform his promise! So saith the prophet Micah: 'The priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the LORD, and say, Is not the LORD among us?' (*Mic. iii. 11.*)—But the prophet saith: 'All men are liars,' (*Ps. cxvi. 11.*) and 'Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.' (*Jerem. xvii. 5.*)"—*Defence, p. 536.*]

^r HOSTIENSIS. Cap. *Quanto*.

^s ABBAS PANORMITANUS.

^t *De Electione, cap. Venerabilem.*

flieth from that light?"* Or, that "all the other bishops have received of the Pope's fulness?"—Shortly, what though they make decrees expressly against God's word, and that not in hucker mucker, or covertly, but openly, and in the face of all the world: must it needs yet be gospel straight, whatsoever they say? Shall these be God's *holy army*? Or will CHRIST be at hand among them there? Shall the HOLY GHOST flow in their tongues; or can they with truth say, 'We and the HOLY GHOST have thought so?'"

Sect. 10. Indeed PETER A SOTO, and his companion HOSIUS, stick not to affirm that the same Council wherein our Saviour JESUS CHRIST was condemned to die, had both the spirit of prophesying, and the HOLY GHOST, and the Spirit of truth; and that it was neither a false nor a trifling saying, when those *bishops* said, 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die;'^x and that they, so saying, did light upon the "very truth of judgment;" (for so be HOSIUS' words;) and that the same plainly was a just decree whereby they pronounced, that CHRIST was worthy to die!'^y 'This, methinketh, is strange—that

* "Quis erit tam injustus rerum æstimator, qui non dicat, Papa Lux venit in mundum; sed dilexerunt homines tenebras magis quam lucem. Omnis qui male agit odit lucem, et non venit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera ejus, quia mala sunt?" CORNELIUS EPISC. BITONT. in *Oratione coram Conc. Trident.*—Compare John viii. 12. ix. 5. iii. 19. ss.

^v DURANDUS.

^w [Allusion to Acts xv. 28.]

^x John xix. 7.

^y HOSIUS *Lib. II. contra Brentium.*

[It is worth while to hear JEWELL's further exposition of this matter, that we may learn the strange lengths to which prejudice and party-spirit can drive men not destitute of sense and judgment.

"Good Christian reader, this whole matter concerneth only the credit and certainty of General Councils. SOTUS and HOSIUS say, whatsoever is determined in Council, must be taken as the undoubted judgment and word of GOD. Hereunto the godly learned father JOHN BRENTIUS* replicth thus: 'Councils sometimes have erred, and have utterly wanted the SPIRIT OF GOD, as it may appear by that in a Council the SON OF GOD was condemned, and adjudged to die the death.' HOSIUS answereth: 'When Annas and Caiaphas sat as presidents in the Council, and CHRIST the SON OF GOD was by them con-

* [A Lutheran divine, and prominent leader of the Protestants, born 1499, died 1570.]

these men are not able to speak for themselves, and to defend their own cause, but they must also take part with Annas and Caiaphas against CHRIST! For if they will call that a lawful and a good Council, wherein the SON OF GOD was most shamefully condemned to die the death; what Council will they then allow for false and naught? And yet (as all their Councils, to say truth, commonly be,) necessity compelled them to pronounce these things of the Council holden by Annas and Caiaphas.

Sect. 11. But will these men, I say, reform us the Church, being themselves both the persons guilty, and the judges too? Will they abate their own ambition and their pride? Will they overthrow their own causes, and give sentence against themselves—that they must leave off to be unlearned bishops, slowbellies, heapers together of benefices, takers upon them as princes and

demned to die, yet *nevertheless the same Council had the assistance of the HOLY GHOST, and the undoubted Spirit of truth.*' Again he saith: '*Ex quo tempore,*' &c. '*From the time that our first father tasted of the forbidden fruit, CHRIST the Son of GOD became guilty of death: neither was it false, that the Jews said, We have a law, and according to that law he ought to die.*' (Pag. 62 b.) With this spirit, I trow, he was inspired that wrote this marginal note upon your *Decrees*: '*Judæi mortaliter peccassent, nisi CHRISTUM crucifixissent.*' '*The Jews would have committed mortal sin, if they had not crucified CHRIST.*'

"But for excuse hereof, somewhat to salve a festery matter, ye tell us a long tedious tale:—'*The acts of the Council, where CHRIST was condemned, were lewd and wicked; but the sentence of death pronounced by the bishops against CHRIST, was just and true.*'—Ye should plainly have told us, what were these *sentences*, and what these *acts*; and what great difference ye can espy between *act* and *sentence*; or when ever ye heard of *sentence* in judgment without *act*, or of perfect *act* without *sentence*; or how then the *sentence* of the judge may be true, if the *act* be false; or how the *act* may be right, if the *sentence* be wrong.

"Indeed, I can easily believe that neither SOTUS, nor HOSIUS, was ever so wicked to say, that '*CHRIST was rightly and worthily done to death.*' Howbeit, he that saith, '*The sentence of death pronounced in Council against CHRIST, was just and true,*' seemeth indeed to say no less. For if the sentence of CHRIST's death were just, then had CHRIST undoubtedly deserved to die. The very case and course of your doctrine undoubtedly force them thus to say. For if all Councils be good and holy, without exception, then must that also be a good and a holy Council, that was assembled against GOD and against his CHRIST," *Defence*, p. 547.]

men of war? Will the Abbots, the Pope's dear darlings, judge the monk for a thief, which laboureth not for his living? and that it is against all law to suffer such a one to live, and to be found, either in city or in country, all of other men's charges? or else, that a monk ought to lie on the ground; to live hardly, with herbs and pease; to study earnestly, to argue, to pray, to work with hand, and fully to bend himself to come to the ministry of the Church? In faith, as soon will the Pharisees and Scribes repair again the temple of God, and restore it unto us a 'house of prayer' instead of 'a den of thieves.'

Sect. 12. There have been, I know, certain of their own companions, which have found fault with many errors in the Church, as Pope ADRIAN,^a ÆNEAS SYLVIVS,^a Cardinal POLE,^b FIGHIUS, and others, as is aforesaid. They held afterwards their Council at Trent, in the self

^a [Adrian VI., who succeeded Leo X. in the Pontificate in 1522, was a native of Utrecht in Holland, born in 1459. He attained his high elevation in consequence of his connexion with the Emperor Charles V. to whom he had been tutor. Adrian was a man of honest piety, and good intentions, but weak-minded, and imbued with all the prejudices of a scholastic education. He was favourable to a reform in the articles of manners and discipline, and therefore hated by the clergy and court of Rome; but his bigotted attachment to all the Romish corruptions of faith precluded any hopes of his sanction of the Reformation. He died in the midst of plans for the amelioration of his corrupt court, after a reign of only eighteen months.]

^a [See Note 4, page 47.]

^b [REGINALD POLE, famous for his share in the restoration of Popery under Queen Mary, with whom he was connected by blood, has left on history a character which it is not easy to fix, or pourtray in a single paragraph. His worst enemies allow him the possession of many virtues; yet it is impossible to clear him from the disgrace of many crimes. His learning, probity, and disinterestedness, scarcely admit of doubt. He had the glory of refusing the Papal tiara; while he submitted with cheerfulness to disgrace and exile for his attachment to the ancient faith. Yet the corruptions which he had condemned while a simple divine, he tacitly allowed when Cardinal legate of England; and the persecution which he had felt, though he never urged it, he yet sanctioned, on his return to power.]

Pole was made Cardinal by Pope Paul III. and when Henry VIII. set a price upon his head, received a body guard from that Pontiff. He was one of the Presidents in the Council of Trent. When Mary assumed the crown of England, he was created Archbishop of Canterbury, and invested with the supreme ecclesiastical power in that kingdom. He died, very shortly after his royal relative, in 1558, aged fifty-nine.]

same place where it is now appointed.^c There assembled many bishops and abbots, and others, whom it behooved for that matter. They were alone by themselves. Whatsoever they did, nobody gainsayed it; for they had quite shut out and barred our side from all manner of assemblies: and there they sat six years,^d feeding folks with a marvellous expectation of their doings. The first six months, as though it were greatly needful, they made many determinations of the HOLY TRINITY—of the FATHER, of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST—which were godly things indeed, but not so necessary for that time.^e Let us see, in all that while, of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, and so evident errors, what one error have they amended? From what kind of idolatry^f have they reclaimed

^c [The Council of Trent was still sitting, when the *Apology* was first published, in 1562.]

^d [JEWELL here alludes to the first convocation of the Council, under Paul III. and Julius III. which lasted from 1545 to 1552. After a suspension of ten years, the Council was convened again under Pius IV., and finally closed in 1563.]

^e ["Whether your fathers in the Chapter at Trent, sat there six whole months debating and reasoning about the TRINITY, or no, of certain knowledge I cannot tell. But certainly, what thing else they did, either in all that time, or long after, you can hardly show us.—Notwithstanding, CASSANDER saith (*Consult. de Comm. sub utraque Specie*. In Præf.) they bestowed one whole summer in great and holy disputations about meaner matters than the Trinity: I mean, only about the Communion of the cup. MARTIN CHERMNITIUS saith (*Exam. Conc. Trid.* p. 638.) they held disputations there and kept great stir, seven whole months together, about the Justification of Faith and Works; and yet in the end left it worse than they found it."—*Defence*, p. 551.]

^f ["Ye are bold to assure us 'there is no kind of idolatry,' nor ever was any, in your whole Church of Rome. Notwithstanding, some others of your best learned fathers have thought otherwise, as it shall appear.

"It seemeth this error began to spring long since, even in the time of the old fathers: and that hereof FAUSTUS, the heretic, took occasion thus to charge the Catholics for the same: 'Idola vertistis in martyres.' 'Ye have changed the Heathen idols into your martyrs.' (AUGUST. *contra Faust.* Lib. XX. cap. xxi.) Ye say, that the reverence ye give unto Saints' images is no idolatry. Yet POLYDORE VIRGIL, speaking hereof, saith thus: 'Quia Sacerdotes,' &c. 'Because the priests instruct not the people, and are thought to hold their peace for gain's sake, the matter is brought to such a dotage, that this part of piety differeth but little from extreme wickedness.' (*De Invent. Rer.* Lib. VI. cap. xiii.) And LUDOVICUS VIVES saith, he seeth no great difference between many Christian men worshipping their images, and a Heathen man

the people? What *superstition* have they taken away? What piece of their *tyranny* and *pomp* have they dimi-

adoring his *idols*. (*In Civit. Dei*.) CATHARINUS, one of your great doctors of Trent, saith thus: 'An licet,' &c. 'Whether is it lawful to worship the very images, or no? Some men say, Nay; and call it idolatry: and they seem to be moved with no light arguments, nor without the authority as well of the fathers, as of the Scriptures.' (*In Libello de Imagin.*) JACOBUS NANCLANTUS saith: 'Non solum,' &c. 'We must grant, that the faithful in the Church do not only worship before the image, but also worship the image itself: and that, without any manner scruple of conscience whatsoever. And further, they worship the image with the self-same honour wherewith they worship the thing itself that is represented by the image. So that if the thing itself be worshipped with godly honour (*Latria*), then must the image itself likewise be worshipped with godly honour (*Latria*).' (*In Epist. ad Rom. Cap. 1.*) Hereto agreeth another of your late writers, JACOBUS PAYNA. (*Lib. IX.*) And another of your like doctors (*Fortalitiū Fidei*) saith: 'this is the very use and practice of the Church of Rome.'

"But ROBERT HOLCOT (*in Lib. Sapient. Lektion. 158.*) saith: 'This kind of worshipping is plain idolatry.' Therefore, I trow, there hath been some idolatry in the Church of Rome.

"Ye will say, 'Ye know the image is no God.' And this, ye think, is excuse sufficient. But so likewise said the Heathens of their idols: and yet, as S. AUGUSTINE saith, (*De Verbo Domini sec. Matth. Serm. VI.*) 'they were idolaters notwithstanding.'

"Ye will say, 'It is the image of an apostle, of CHRIST, or of God himself, and therefore it can be no idolatry.' But GREGORY the bishop of Nyssa, S. Basil's brother, saith thus: 'He that worshippeth a creature, notwithstanding he do it in the name of CHRIST, yet is he a worshipper of images, as giving the name of CHRIST unto an image.'—By these few, it may soon appear that your churches are not all void of idolatry." *Defence*, p. 552.

POLYDORE VIRGIL, and LEWIS VIVES, cited by JEWELL as authorities in this passage, were both ecclesiastics who, although they censured its errors with freedom, lived and died in the Church of Rome. They flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and were eminent among their contemporaries for varied learning and eloquent style.

NANCLANT and PAYNA are Romish divines of the sixteenth century, of little eminence, and no authority, except as evidence of the opinions which they were allowed to hold and propagate.

GREGORY of Nyssa (thence called NYSSENUS) was born in Cappadocia about 331, elected bishop of Nyssa in 372, exiled by the emperor Valentinian for his orthodoxy in 374, honoured with a mission to visit the churches of Palestine and Arabia by the Council of Antioch in 379, assigned a prominent station in the General Council of Constantinople in 382, and died in 396. His works consist of Commentaries, Doctrinal Treatises, Sermons, Moral Essays, Panegyrics on the Saints, and some business letters. They contain many singular opinions, and little matter of real importance.

FABER has exposed the idolatrous image-worship of the Church of Rome with his usual ability, in the 17th chapter of his *Difficulties of Romanism*.]

nished? As though all the world may not now see, that this is a *conspiracy*, and not a *Council*! and that these bishops whom the Pope hath now called together, be not wholly sworn and become bound to bear him their faithful allegiance,^a and will do no manner of thing but that they perceive pleaseth him, and helpeth to advance his power, and as he will have it: or, that they reckon not of the number of men's voices, rather than of the weight and value of the same: or, that *might*, there, doth not oftentimes overcome *right*!

Sect. 13. And therefore, we know that divers times many good men and catholic bishops did tarry at home, and would not come, when such Councils were called, wherein men so apparently laboured to serve factions, and to take parts; because they knew they should but lose their travail, and do no good, seeing whereunto their enemies' minds were so wholly bent.—ATHANASIUS denied to come, when he was called by the emperor to his Council at Cæsarea; perceiving plainly he should

^a ["Other greater matters I will not touch. For in cases of faith, for your credit's sake, ye may grant no manner error.—Now, therefore, tell us, M. Harding, what one *abuse* of all the abuses in your Mass; what one *disorder*, or *deformity*, of so many disorders and deformities in your Church; what one vain *ceremony*; what one childish *fable*; what *appeal to Rome*; what *simony*; what *pardon*; what *stews*; what *courtezans*; what concubines; have ye reformed? If ye redress not those gross and sensible abuses, that ye see with your eyes: how then will ye redress other more secret matters that pertain only to faith, and be not seen?" *Defence*, p. 551.]

^b ["Verily, the Pope for his *Præmunire* will not suffer any bishop to give voice in Council, unless he have him first solemnly sworn to the see of Rome: and therefore they be all called *his creatures*.—And that it may appear in what obedience, and servile subjection, all bishops be unto the Pope; ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, otherwise called Pope Pius the Second, saith thus: 'Quod si episcopus,' &c. 'If a bishop speak against the Pope, yea, although he speak the truth, yet nevertheless he sinneth against the oath that he hath made unto the Pope.' (*Ad Capit. Mogunt.*) Therefore, whereas at the late Conference [Diet] at Nuremberg it was required by the princes and states of Germany, that all bishops coming to the Council might both be discharged from their oath made to the Pope, and also sworn to speak and to promote the truth; the Pope's Legate there made answer in great disdain, that it might not so be; 'for that so the Pope's hands should be bound.' (SLEIDAN, Lib. IV. An. 1523.)—Hereby a blind man may easily see the form and freedom of your Councils. If the bishops be free to say the truth, then is the Pope left in bondage." *Defence*, p. 551.]

but come among his enemies, which deadly hated him.¹ The same ATHANASIUS, when he came afterward to the Council at Sirmium, and foresaw what would be the end, by reason of the outrage and malice of his enemies; he packed up his carriage, and went away immediately.—JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, although the emperor Arcadius² commanded him by four sundry letters to come to the Arians' Council, yet kept he himself at home still.³—When MAXIMUS, the bishop of Jerusalem, sat in the Council of Palestine, the old father PAPHNUTIUS took him by the hand, and led him out at the doors, saying, 'It is not lawful for us to confer of these matters with wicked men.'⁴—The *bishops of the East* would not come to the Syrmian Council, after they knew Athanasius had gotten himself thence again.—CYRIL called men back, by letter, from the Council of them which were named Patropassians.⁵—PAULINUS, the bishop of Treves, and many others more, refused to come to the Council at Milan,⁶ when they understood what a stir and rule Auxentius kept there; for they saw it was in

¹ THEODORET. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. I. c. xxviii.

[The Council (or Synod) of Cæsarea was called by the emperor Constantine, in the year 334, at the instigation of the enemies of Athanasius, for a judicial investigation of his conduct. It consisted almost exclusively of bishops of the Eusebian party, who were hostile both to the principles and to the person of Athanasius.]

² [The translation published with the *Defence*, by a strange error, has the name of the emperor Constantius here.]

³ *Hist. Tripartit.* Lib. X. cap. xiii.

⁴ RUFFINI *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. I. c. xvii.

[In this Council, held at Jerusalem in 334, Arius was received to communion.]

⁵ *Hist. Tripart. Sozom.* Lib. V. c. xv.

[The example of the violent and factious CYRIL of Alexandria is of little worth; and is rendered of still less by the 'railing accusation' with which it is coupled. In his days the *Patropassians* (a set of heretics who maintained that one Divine Person was under the Jewish dispensation the FATHER, during CHRIST's stay on earth the SON; and since his ascension the HOLY GHOST,) had been long extinct; and he injuriously applied the epithet to the Nestorians, who merely maintained the identity of the Divine and human natures in CHRIST—or, still more probably, (and if so, with still less justice,) to such as were unwilling to condemn Nestorius with as much bitterness, or to run to equal lengths in opposition to his error, as himself.]

⁶ [Convened by the emperor Constantius, in 355, for the condemnation of ATHANASIUS on account of his maintenance of the doctrine of the Trinity.]

vain to go thither, where not reason, but faction should prevail, and where folk contended, not for the truth, but for partiality and favour.

Sect. 14. And albeit those fathers had such malicious and stiff-necked enemies; yet, if they had come, they should have had free speech, at least in the Councils.

But now, since none of us may be suffered so much as to sit or once to be seen in these men's meetings^p—much less suffered to speak freely our mind;^a and seeing the Pope's Legates, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, all being conspired together, all linked together in one kind of fault, and all bound by one oath, sit alone by themselves, and have power alone to give their consent, and at last, when they have all done,

^p [“Ye say, ‘The Pope gave out his Safe-conduct to all the princes and free cities and to the whole people of Germany.’ But what safety can there be in his Safe-conduct, that is not able to save himself? Pope Eugenius the Fourth, if he had come to the Council of Basle, as you know, had been quite deposed from his popedom, all his Safe-conducts notwithstanding. (*Conc. Bas. Sess. 3 et 4.*) Pope John XXII. gave out as sure a Safe-conduct for the Council of Constance, as Pope Pius [IV.] could devise any for your late Chapter of Trent: yet notwithstanding all his safety, being himself present in the Council, he was pulled out of Peter's chair, and deprived of his dignity, and stripped out of his Pontificals, and turned home again in his Minorite [garments, i. e. dress of a Minorite friar,] and allowed only to be a Cardinal, and no longer to be a Pope. (*Conc. Constant. Sess. 2. 3. 4.*) Ye may remember CICERO saith: ‘Qui multorum custodem se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primum capitis aiunt custodem esse oportere.’ ‘Wise men say, Whoso will take upon him to save others, must first save himself.’ (*Philipp. XII.*)—And what credit may we give to your Safe-conducts? JACOBUS NACHIANTES, the bishop of Chioca, for that he had simpered out one half word of truth to the misliking of the Legates, was fain to run to Rome, to creep to the Pope's feet, and to crave pardon. (*ILLYRICUS in Prot. cont. Conc. Trid. p. 77.*) Ye shamefully betrayed, and cruelly murdered JOHN HUSS, and JEROME OF PRAGUE, in your Council of Constance. Neither the Protection of the emperor, nor the Pope's Safe-conduct, was able to save them. No; yourselves have already ruled the case, in your said Council. For thus ye say: ‘Fides non est servanda hæreticis.’ ‘Ye may hold no faith with (them that ye call) heretics.’ (*Conc. Const. Sess. 19.*) Such is the *safety* and *liberty* of your Councils!” *Defence*, p. 556.]

^a [“Ye say ‘Our learned men were allowed to propound, to talk, to dispute.’ What should this avail? For ye reserved the *determination* and whole *judgment* unto yourselves: and yourselves are sworn to submit your whole judgment to the Pope, and without his judgment to judge nothing. And how may this seem a free Council, where the guilty party shall be the judge?” *Defence*, p. 556.]

as though they had done nothing, bring their opinions to be judged at the will and pleasure of the Pope, being but one man, to the end he may pronounce his own sentence of himself, who ought rather to have answered to his complaint [the complaint against him]; since, also, the same ancient and Christian liberty, which of all right should specially be in Christian Councils, is now utterly taken away from the Council:—for these causes, I say, wise and good men ought not to marvel at this day, though we do the like now that they see was done in times past, in like case, of so many fathers and catholic bishops—which is, though we chuse rather to sit at home, and leave our whole cause to God, than to journey thither; whereas we neither can have place, nor be able to do any good; whereas we can obtain no audience; whereas Princes' ambassadors be but used as mocking-stocks; and whereas also we be all condemned already, before trial—as though the matter were aforehand dispatched, and agreed upon.

CHAPTER XII.

*Authority of Princes.**

Sect. 1. Nevertheless, we can bear patiently and quietly our own private wrongs. But wherefore do they shut out *Christian Kings*, and good *princes*, from their convocation? Why do they so uncourteously, or with such spite, leave them out, and as though either they were not Christian men, or else could not judge,

* ["Ye say 'Ye mock not princes' ambassadors, but place them next unto your Legates:—to sit still, I trow, and to tell the clock. For voice in judgment ye allow them none. Thus ye prune their authority, and allow them honour, and set them aloft to say nothing." *Defence*, p. 557.]

* [JEWELL is far removed from the errors of those, who in the incipient stages of the Reformation confounded the source and exercise of ministerial authority with the will of the civil magistrate. He explicitly distinguishes them as independent authorities, derived, it is true, from a common source, but having each its distinct and incommunicable functions. He differs from Harding in maintaining the supremacy of the civil power—or its right (not inherent, but conveyed by its Divine source) to superintend the ecclesiastical power, and exact of it fidelity and diligence:—a position the exact reverse of that held by the Church

will not have them made acquainted with the causes of Christian religion, nor understand the state of their own Churches ?'

of Rome, which would submit the civil authority to the beck of the ecclesiastical head.—Both differ from the principle of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, in allowing a subordination of either branch : she maintains the entire independence and absence of control in both ; contending that as there is certainly no Divine authority for ecclesiastical usurpation of jurisdiction over the civil powers ; so neither is there just warrant, either in the laws of GOD, or in the constitution of society, for interference on the part of the civil powers in the regulation of ecclesiastical matters—unless in so far as these interfere with the well-being of the state, or tend to encroachment upon temporal authority. The instances of pious princes of the Jewish commonwealth, on which so much stress is laid by JEWELL, are altogether inapplicable to the general question of the connexion of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. They were under circumstances singularly peculiar, and can be precedents only in a recurrence of such circumstances—an event which the establishment of the gospel dispensation, with its spiritual kingdom, and heavenly head, has rendered impossible. David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah, were the special viceregents of the DEITY in the administration of his own government over a people of which HE, and HE alone, was both the temporal and spiritual head. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities among the Israelites were no co-ordinate powers, emanating from a common source ; but were inseparably combined, first in the Great Head of the Nation, the LORD who had reserved to Himself this people from among all the nations of the earth, that he should be their King ; and subordinately, in his delegates, either ordinary or extraordinary. David and Solomon acted, in the administration both of the civil and of the ecclesiastical powers, by special Divine *direction*, being themselves under the influence of inspiration : Hezekiah and Josiah received for their acts the explicit Divine *sanction*, by the intervention of the inspired prophets. Until a *theocracy* is again established, (an event which CHRIST'S coming, and the character of the gospel, teach us never to expect,) the acts of the Israelitish kings can be no precedents to civil rulers for intermeddling with ecclesiastical affairs.

These general remarks may serve as an answer to the whole strain of JEWELL'S arguments in this chapter : to descend to particulars would increase the bulk of the notes, without the accrual of any proportionate profit to the reader from the litigation of a question already almost obsolete.—A work entitled '*Letters on the Church, by an Episcopalian,*' published in London in 1826, and in subsequent editions, furnishes the soundest views of this subject, in a strain of unanswerable reasoning and rich illustration.]

[In this paragraph, JEWELL verges into a subject very different from the *authority of princes in ecclesiastical matters*, namely, the *right of the laity to a voice in the counsels of the Church*. His argument, based on the principles of common equity, is good ; and it is abundantly borne out by Scriptural precedent, recorded in the Book of Acts. Yet, there is, in fact, no such thing as a regular exercise of that right in the Church which JEWELL was defending. The high-handed interference of Parliament in church affairs is no *participation* of the

Or, if the said kings and princes happen to intermeddle in such matters, and take upon them to do that they may do, and ought of duty to do, and the same things that we know both David, and Solomon, and other good princes have done; that is, if they, whiles the Pope and his prelates slug and sleep, or else mischievously withstand them, do bridle the priests' sensuality, and drive them to do their duty, and keep them still to it—if they do overthrow idols—if they take away superstition, and set up again the true worshipping of God; why do they by and by make an outcry upon them, 'that such princes trouble all, and press by violence into another body's office, and do therein wickedly and malapertly?' What Scripture hath at any time forbidden a Christian prince to be made privy to such causes? Who, but themselves alone, made ever any such law?

Sect. 2. They will say to this, I guess, 'Civil princes have learned to govern a commonwealth, and to order matters of war: but they understand not the secret mysteries of religion.' If that be so; what is the Pope, I pray you, at this day, other than a *monarch*, or a *prince*?^a Or what be the Cardinals, who must be none

laity in ecclesiastical regulations; it is an irregular *assumption* of the whole power, to the virtual *exclusion of the clergy*—since the total want of representation of the lower orders of the clergy, and the mere numerical votes of the bishops so greatly outnumbered by those of the temporal peers, leave the clerical body, as such, with a merely nominal interest in the proceedings of Parliament. Apart from this irregular interference of a civil body in ecclesiastical matters, the laity of the Church of England have no share in either its legislation or its administration. They possess neither representation nor elective franchise. The happy contrast between this state of things and the republican constitution of our own Church is sufficiently obvious. The American Episcopalian can read JEWELL'S argument for the rights of Christian laity with double pride and thankfulness, while he knows, not only that these things *ought to be so*, but that they *are so* in his own favoured branch of CHRIST'S Church catholic.]

^a [His allusion is to the temporality, or civil possessions, of the Pope; known as the Ecclesiastical State, the Dominion of the Church, or the Popedom. This, now greatly diminished by successive spoliations, was once no inconsiderable portion of the fairest part of Italy.

But, in the *Defence*, JEWELL supports this assertion with reference to another object—the external assumption of princely state. "Pope Boniface VIII.," says he, "in a great Jubilee, and in a solemn procession, went apparelled in the Emperor's robes, and had the crown

other now but princes and kings' sons? What else be the Patriarchs, and, for the most part, the Archbishops, the Bishops, the Abbots? What be they else at this present in the Pope's kingdom, but worldly *princes, dukes, and earls*, gorgeously accompanied with bands of men whithersoever they go: oftentimes, also, gaily arrayed with chains and collars of gold? They have at times, too, certain ornaments by themselves, as crosses,^w hats,^x mitres,^y and palls:^z which pomp the imperial on his head, and the sword of majesty borne before him, as Emperor." p. 568.

The *Tiara*, or *triple crown*, denoting the junction of the *general spiritual* and *temporal* dominions, with the *particular sovereignty* of the Papal territory, is a notorious token of the monarchical state assumed by the Popes.]

v ["The wise and godly have evermore found fault with the ecclesiastical bravery of your Roman clergy. S. BERNARD saith: 'Quotidie vides,' &c. 'You may daily see their meretricious splendour; their player-like dress; their princely caparisons; their golden bridles, saddles, and spurs.' (*In Cantic. Sermon. 33.*) Again he saith: 'Incedunt nitidi,' &c. 'They go trim and adorned, clothed in gay coloured robes, like a bride from her chamber.' (*Ibid. Sermon. 77.*) LAURENTIUS VALLIA, although bitterly, yet not unpleasantly, thus expresseth your lordly bravery: 'Existimo, si qua,' &c. 'I think if the demons who dwell in the aerial regions, have any games among them, they must take their chief delight in mimicking the dress, and pomp, and luxury, and scenic shows, of the Clergy.' (*De Donat. Constant.*)"—*Defence*, p. 567. s.]

w [Crosses of gold or silver, of curious workmanship, and differing in form and magnitude, were borne before bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, by one of their followers, whenever they went abroad, as distinctions of their several ranks and jurisdictions. Cardinal Wolsey's silver cross as Cardinal Legate (he had another borne before him as Archbishop of York) was so heavy that a man could hardly carry it. It was the subject of an irreconcilable dispute between him and Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, that, contrary to usage, he had this cross borne aloft before him while within the diocese of the latter.]

x [A low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat, in form much resembling that adopted by the early Quakers, of a purple colour, with a cumbersome appendage of tassels and fringe, is the distinctive badge of the dignity of a *Cardinal*. By a ridiculous and wholly unsupported tradition, the Church of Rome pretends to derive its use from St. JEROME.]

y [The mitre, too well known to need description, is doubtless the result of an absurd attempt to imitate the supernatural appearance at the descent of the HOLY SPIRIT on the day of Pentecost. When worn by the Romish bishops, (as it is always upon occasions of ceremony,) it is often enriched with gold and jewels to a very great amount, according to the wealth of the individual prelate, or of his see.]

z [The pall is a species of mantle, woven of undyed wool, and consecrated by the Pope himself; with which he conveys to an archbishop elect the right to perform the duties of his office.]

ancient bishops, CHRYSOSTOM, AUGUSTINE, and AMBROSE, never had. Setting these things aside, what teach they? What say they? What do they? How live they? I say not, As may become a catholic bishop, but, As may become a Christian man?—Is it so great a matter to have a vain title, and, by changing a garment only, to have the name of a bishop?

Sect. 3. Surely to have the principal stay and effect of all matters committed to these men's hands, who neither know, nor will know, these things, nor yet set a jot by any point of religion, save that which concerneth their belly and riot; and to have them alone sit as judges, and to be set up as overseers in the watch-tower, being no better than blind spies:—of the other side, to have a Christian prince, of good understanding and of a right judgment, to stand still like a block, or a stake, not to be suffered neither to give his voice, nor to show his judgment, but only to wait what these men shall will and command, as one that had neither ears, nor eyes, nor wit, nor heart; and whatsoever they give in charge, to allow it without exception, blindly fulfilling their commandments, be they never so blasphemous and wicked—yea, although they command him quite to destroy all religion, and to crucify again CHRIST himself;—this, surely, besides that it is proud and spiteful, is also beyond all right and reason, and not to be endured of Christian and wise princes. For why, I pray you, may Caiaphas and Annas understand these matters, and may not David and Hezekiah do the same? Is it lawful for a Cardinal, being a man of war, and delighting in blood, to have place in a Council? and is it not lawful for a Christian emperor, or king?

Sect. 4. Verily, we grant no further liberty to our magistrates, than that we know hath been given them by the word of God,^a and also been confirmed by the

^a [HARDING, in reply, challenged JEWELL to show Scriptural authority for the *Supremacy* attributed by the Church of England to the king. As that 'supremacy' has been a fertile theme of slander and abuse in this country, among some who choose to confound the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States with the Church of England, it may not be amiss to transcribe the most pertinent of

examples of the very best governed commonwealths. For, besides that a Christian prince hath the charge of

JEWELL'S observations on the subject. It will appear that even the Church of England is by no means liable to the charges based by some upon the ground that she calls the King her *head*.—That those charges should be extended to the independent branch of CHRIST'S Church in this country, which agrees with her in doctrine and discipline, can only arise from the grossest ignorance or the basest calumny.

"Concerning the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, we need not to search for Scripture to excuse it. For, first, we devised it not: Secondly, we use it not: Thirdly, our princes at this present claim it not."—"Howbeit, that the prince is the *highest judge and governor* over all his subjects whatsoever, as well priest as layman, without exception, it is most evident, by that hath been already said; by that shall be said hereafter; by the whole course of the Scriptures; and by the undoubted practice of the primitive Church."

JEWELL'S disclaimer accurately agrees with the 37th Article of the Church of England.—"The King's Majesty hath the chief power, in this realm of England, and other his dominions; unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

"Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government; by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not our princes the ministering either of GOD'S Word, or of the Sacraments;—but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scriptures by GOD himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by GOD, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers."

Surely, the intellect must be strangely warped by prejudice, that can extract from this harmless declaration—a declaration which, with the substitution of the term 'civil magistracy' for the words 'king' and 'prince,' the truest republican might subscribe, and would the more warmly defend, the truer his republicanism—the elements of despotism and lay-popery!

The error struck at in that article of the Church of England, is the claim of the Romish Church to an entire exemption of its clergy, in all cases, from responsibility to the civil powers. Of this error, JEWELL writes:—

"But now, if a man would ask you by what Word of GOD your priests and bishops have exempted themselves from the judgment and government of their princes; or by what Word of GOD the prince's hand is restrained more from his clergy, than from his other subjects; or by what Word of GOD ye would stablish two *supreme governors* in one realm; I marvel in what Scriptures ye would seek to find it. Your own doctors and glossers say: 'Quæritur, quis exemit,' &c. 'Question is moved, who hath exempted the priest from the jurisdiction of the emperor, whereas before he was his subject? Laurentius saith (not the Word of GOD, but) the Pope exempted him, by the consent of the prince.' (*Extra. de Major. et Obed. in Marg. Cap. 2.*)" *Defence*, p. 569.

both *Tables*^b committed to him by God, to the end he may understand that not *temporal* matters only, but also *religious* and *ecclesiastical* causes pertain to his office; besides, also, that God by his prophets often and earnestly commandeth the king to cut down the groves, to break down the images and altars of idols, and to write out the Book of the Law for himself; and besides that the prophet *Isaiah* saith the king ought to be the father and nurse of the Church:^c I say, besides all these things, we see by histories, and by examples of the best times, that good princes ever took the administration of ecclesiastical matters to pertain to their duty.

Sect. 5. Moses, being a civil magistrate, and chief guide of the people, both received from God, and

It cannot be too explicitly asserted or understood, that we American Episcopalians have no other concern with this question, than to prevent its being fastened on us. Our Church, by the fundamental principles of her constitution, recognises the strictest interpretation of the SAVIOUR's words, "My kingdom is not of this world." So doing, she is not even under the necessity of declaring her recognition of the jurisdiction of the civil powers, as done by the Church of England. She lays down the duties of her members with reference to CHRIST their spiritual head, and to his ordinances and officers, and nothing more. Their duties as members of civil society can be no otherwise affected by these, than as the Gospel always will affect them, by fostering a spirit of true freedom and genuine philanthropy.]

^b [JEWELL explains this expression in the *Defence*: "We say, the prince is put in trust, as well with the *first* as with the *second Table* of the Law of GOD; that is to say, as well with *religion*, as with *temporal government*, not only to keep and perform the contents of both *Tables* in his own person, (for so much every private man is bound to do,) but also to see that all others, his subjects, as well priests as laymen, each man in his calling, do duly keep them." p. 571.]

^c Isa. xlix. 23. [The words of the passage "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers," convey an import somewhat different from that put upon them by JEWELL. If his construction of this sentence were allowable, it must extend to the next, which would not so well agree with his principles: "they shall (*ought to*, JEWELL must say) bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet." This would go far toward establishing the Pope's supremacy over the civil powers, and furnishing authority for the ceremony of kissing his toe!—But the passage is a highly figurative prediction, merely implying a future state of high prosperity for the Church; without in the least conveying a Divine injunction, or even approbation, of the circumstances by which that prosperity should be accompanied or brought about.]

delivered to the people, all the order for religion and sacrifices, and gave Aaron, the bishop, a vehement and sore rebuke for making the golden calf, and for suffering the corruption of religion.^d

Joshua, also, though he were none other than a civil magistrate, yet as soon as he was chosen by God, and set as a ruler over the people, he received commandments specially touching religion and the service of God.^e

King *David*, when the whole religion of God was altogether brought out of frame by wicked king *Saul*, brought home again the ark of God; that is to say, he restored religion again; and was not only amongst them himself, as a counsellor and furtherer of the work, but he appointed also *hymns* and *psalms*, put in order the companies,^f and was the only doer in setting forth that whole solemn triumph,^g and in effect ruled the priests.

King *Solomon* built unto the LORD the Temple, which his father *David* had but purposed in his mind to do:^h and after the finishing thereof, he made a godly oration to the people, concerning religion and the service of God.ⁱ He afterward displaced *Abiathar*, the priest, and set *Zadok* in his room.^k

After this, when the temple was in shameful wise polluted through the naughtiness and negligence of the priests, king *Hezekiah* commanded the same to be cleansed from the rubble and filth, the priests to light up candles, to burn incense, and to do their divine service according to the old and allowed order.^l The same king

^d Exod. xxxii.

^e Josh. i. ["He caused the people to be circumcised: he caused altars for their bloody sacrifices to be rejected: he caused the priests to make their sacrifices: he caused the Deuteronomy to be written in stones: he caused both the blessings and curses of God to be pronounced: he spake openly to the people, and frayed them from idolatry. All these were cases, not of civil policy, but of religion:" says *JEWELL, Defence*, p. 578. Most willingly granted. But, by his own admission, both *Moses* and *Aaron* were acting under an express *divine commission*. How, then, can their conduct afford a precedent for men utterly destitute of any such commission?]

^f [The courses of the priests, in which they were to minister, by rotation, in the temple; 1 Chron. xxiv.]

^g [The procession in which the ark was brought from *Kirjath-jearim*. 1 Chron. xiii.]

^h 2 Chron. vi.

ⁱ 1 Kings viii.

^k 1 Kings ii. 26, 27, 35.

^l 2 Chron. xxix.

also commanded the brazen serpent, which then the people wickedly worshipped, to be taken down, and beaten to powder.^m

King *Jehoshaphat* overthrew and utterly made away the hill altars and groves,ⁿ whereby he saw God's honour hindered, and the people holden back with private superstition from the ordinary temple, which was at Jerusalem; whereto they should by order have resorted yearly from every part of the realm.

King *Josiah* with great diligence put priests and bishops in mind of their duties.^o

King *Joash* bridled the riot and arrogance of the priests.^p

Jehu put to death the wicked prophets.^q

^m 2 Kings xviii. 4. ["Isaiah and Elisha, notwithstanding they were the *prophets* of God, yet were they neither *priests*, nor *bishops*, nor had any manner of ordinary ministration in the Church. The *bishops* and *priests* [the priests and Levites] had disordered and wasted God's whole religion. The holy place of God was full of filthiness. The gates of the temple were shut up, that no man might enter in. The people had turned away their faces from the tabernacle of the LORD. There was no incense: there was no sacrifice. All these things had happened through the negligence and wickedness of the priests.—'The priests and the Levites were *ashamed*, and sanctified themselves.' (2 Chron. xxx. 15.) So ready were they to call upon, and to further, the king in his godly purpose! They held back what they could, and yielded to nothing but with much ado, and *for very shame*. They did nothing but by the king's commandment: and made him a reckoning of their doings.—Howbeit, perhaps ye will discharge this whole matter with one ordinary excuse, and tell us, that all these were but temporal cases!" *Defence*, p. 580.

That were a false answer. But to this, and every other of JEWELL's examples from the history of the kings of Judah and Israel, there is a true and full rejoinder. They were the authorized viceroys of the Divine Head of the state, administering equally both departments of his government—the ecclesiastical as well as the civil polity. The precedent of a *theocracy* can have no application to a monarchy or republic established by human authority.]

ⁿ 2 Chron. xvii. 6.

^o 2 Kings xxiii. 2 Chron. xxxv.

^p 2 Kings xii. ["He sequestered the oblations of the people, which the priests had bestowed lewdly and wantonly upon themselves; and by his own authority turned the same to the reparations of the temple." *Defence*, p. 580.—Evidently, there was nothing more in this case than the administration of civil justice, interposed to prevent a flagrant breach of trust.]

^q 2 Kings x.

Sect. 6. And, to rehearse no more examples out of the Old Law, let us rather consider since the birth of CHRIST, how the Church hath been governed in the time of the Gospel.

The Christian emperors in the old time appointed the Councils of the bishops. *Constantine* called the Council at Nice. *Theodosius the First* called the Council at Constantinople. *Theodosius the Second* called the Council at Ephesus. *Martian* called the Council at Chalcedon.* And when Ruffin the heretic had alleged for his authority a Council which, as he thought, should make for him, S. JEROME, his adversary, to confute him—"Tell us," quoth he, "what emperor commanded that Council to be called?" The same JEROME again, in his Epitaph upon Paula, maketh mention of the emperor's letters, which gave commandment to call the bishops of Italy and Greece to Rome, to a Council. Continually, for the space of five hundred years, the emperor alone appointed the ecclesiastical assemblies, and called the Councils of the bishops together.

* [HARDING, in a long reply to this paragraph, and JEWELL, in a still longer answer, debate the question, Whether authority to summon Councils lies with the emperor or with the Pope? The advantage is clearly on the side of the reformer: but now that the use and authority of Councils are allowed by none but Romanists, and not even all of them; and when there is no prospect of any attempt to resort again to that futile expedient for the settlement of religious differences; the question does not possess sufficient interest or utility to warrant the transcription of JEWELL's numerous proofs and arguments.]

In the conclusion of his treatise, (for eight close folio pages deserve that name,) JEWELL sums up his evidence from EUSEBIUS, THEODORET, SOZOMEN, SOCRATES, ecclesiastical historians; from ATHANASIUS, CHRYSOSTOM, AMBROSE, JEROME, and several other fathers of the same, and later ages; and from the Acts of Councils and Popes; that power to summon Councils, and in other respects regulate ecclesiastical matters, was claimed by the Christian emperors, and allowed by their clerical subjects.—The weight of these historical facts as precedents and authorities to settle the extent of the jurisdiction of civil magistrates at the present day, is determined by one remark—the emperors in question were in the fullest sense of the word *despots*. Their ecclesiastical subjects *could not* oppose their inclinations, if they had been disposed, and the bitterness of the religious controversies of those ages made each party indisposed to the hazardous attempt, and anxious to secure for itself the sanction of the supreme authority.]

Sect. 7. We now, therefore, marvel the more at the unreasonable dealing of the bishop of Rome, *who*, knowing what was the emperor's right when the Church was well ordered—knowing also that it is now a common right to all princes, for so much as kings are now fully possessed in the several parts of the whole empire—doth so without consideration assign that office alone to himself, and taketh it sufficient, in summoning a General Council, to make that man that is prince of the whole world* none otherwise partaker thereof than he would make his own servant. And although the modesty and mildness of the emperor FERDINAND¹ be so great that he can bear this wrong, because peradventure he understandeth not well the Pope's packing; yet ought not the Pope, of his holiness, to offer him that wrong, nor to claim another man's right as his own.

Sect. 8. But hereto some will reply: 'The emperor indeed *called Councils* at that time ye speak of, because the bishop of Rome was not yet grown so great as he is now; but yet the emperor did not then *sit* together with the bishops *in Council*, nor bare any stroke with his authority in their consultations.' I answer, Nay, that is not so. For, as witnesseth THEODORET, the emperor Constantine not only sat together with them in the Council of Nice, but gave also advice to the bishops, how it was best to try out the matter by the apostles' and prophets' writings; as appeareth by these his own words: "In disputation," saith he, "of matters of divinity, we have set before us, to follow, the doctrine of the HOLY GHOST. For the evangelists' and the apostles' works, and the prophets' sayings, show us sufficiently what opinion we ought to have of the will

* [JEWELL means the Emperor of Germany, who claimed to represent the Western branch of the Roman empire, and to succeed to all the dignity of the old emperors. In that age the empty precedence of title was yet allowed, and the right to *create Kings* was still supposed to reside in the head of the *Holy Roman Empire*.]

¹ [FERDINAND I. emperor of Germany when the *Apology* was published, succeeded his brother Charles V. in 1558, and died in 1564. He was devotedly attached to the interests of the Church of Rome, although, on several occasions, his fidelity met with an ungracious return from its haughty chiefs.]

of God."—The emperor Theodosius, as saith SOCRATES,^v did not only sit amongst the bishops, but also ordered the whole arguing of the cause, and tare in pieces the heretics' books, and allowed for good the judgment of the catholics.^w In the Council of Chalcedon, a civil magistrate condemned, for heretics, by the sentence of his own mouth, the bishops Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Thalassius; and gave judgment to put them down from their dignities in the Church.^x In the third Council at Constantinople, Constantine, a civil magistrate, did not only sit amongst the bishops, but did also subscribe with them. For saith he: "We have both read and subscribed."^y In the second Council called Arausicanum,^z the prince's ambassadors, being noblemen born, not only spake their minds touching *religion*, but set to their hands also, as well as the bishops. For thus it is written

^v Ἀλλως τε καὶ περὶ θεῶν διαλεγόμενους πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἀνέγραπτον ἔχοντας. Εὐαγγελικαὶ γὰρ, φησί, βίβλοι καὶ ἀποστολικαὶ, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν τὰ θεσπίσματα, σαφῶς ἡμᾶς δ' ἡρῆ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσι. THEODORETI *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. I. c. vi.

[HARDING brings a number of puerile objections to this evidence of Constantine's participation in the Nicene Council—such as that he came in last, sat on a low throne, did not sit down before the bishops, &c. JEWELL, in a long chapter of the *Defence*, triumphantly refutes them all, and shows from the contemporary historians, that the Council was considered as Constantine's—summoned by him, kept in order by him, and governed by his directions.]

^v SOCRAT. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. V. c. x.

^w ["The story in brief is this: Theodosius, [the First,] the emperor, the better to bring his Churches into unity, commanded an assembly of the bishops and best learned to appear before him, (SOZOMEN. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. VII. c. xii.) and each part to write a several confession of his faith, that he himself might judge between them, which faith were the best. Having received their writings, he willed public prayers to be made, and also both privately prayed himself, that it might please GOD to assist him with His HOLY SPIRIT, and to make him able to judge justly. Then he perused and considered each confession asunder by itself: allowed only the Catholics; and condemned the confessions that were written by the Arians and Eunomians, and tare them in pieces.—This is the true report of the story. Now whether the emperor Theodosius took upon him to hear and determine *ecclesiastical causes of religion*, or no, I report me to your own indifferent judgment."—*Defence*, p. 601.]

^x *Concil. Chalcedon.* Act. 1. p. 831. EVAGRII *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. II. c. iv.

^y *Concil. Constantinop.* III. Act. 2.

^z [The second Council of *Orange*, in the principality of Orange, on the Rhone, was held in 527. It consisted of thirteen bishops.]

in the latter end of that Council: "Peter, Marcellinus, Felix, and Liberius, being most noble men, and famous lieutenants, and captains of France, and also peers of the realm,^a have given their consent, and set to their hands." Further: "Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariatho, and Marcellus, men of very great honour, have subscribed."—If it be so, then, that *lieutenants, chief captains, and peers*, have had authority to subscribe in Council;^b have not *emperors and kings* the like authority?

Truly there had been no need to handle so plain a matter as this is, with so many words, and so at length, if we had not to do with those men, who for a desire they have to strive, and to win the mastery, use of course to denie all things, be they never so clear, yea the very same which they presently see, and behold with their own eyes.—The emperor Justinian made a law to correct the behaviour of the clergy, and to cut short the insolent lewdness^c of the priests.^d And albeit he were a catholic prince, yet put he down from their papal throne two Popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, notwithstanding they were *Peter's successors*, and *CHRIST'S Vicars*!^e

^a [Lady Bacon has *Englished* these titles too thoroughly: we no longer recognise the officers of the Roman empire. A literal version of the Latin is: "Men of rank, honourable prefects of the prætorian guards in Gaul, and patricians."]

^b [HARDING quibbles on the *mode* of subscription: contending that the subscriptions of the bishops in Council were *definitive*; those of laymen merely *consentient*. JEWELL shows, in reply, from authorities allowed as valid by the Church of Rome, that the laity have enjoyed the right to a *definitive* vote in ecclesiastical assemblies.]

^c [*Lewdness* is here used in the obsolete sense of *unlawful liberty*.]

^d "Nisi intra præscriptum tempus ad ecclesias suas redeant, depellantur, et alii in illorum locum surrogentur, idque autoritate et vi hujus præsentis legis." "Unless they (bishops and priests) repair again into their churches by a day appointed, let them be deprived from their livings, and let others be placed in their rooms, and that by the force and authority of this present law." *Authent. de Eccles. diversis capitulis*.

^e [Sylverius was elevated to the papal dignity in 536. Being accused by his deacon Vigilius of an attempt to betray Rome, then besieged by the Goths, to the enemy, he was deposed by Belisarius, the general of Justinian's forces defending the city. The circumstances do no credit to any of the parties concerned. "Sylverius was summoned to attend the representative of his sovereign, at his head-quarters in the Pincian

Sect. 9. Let us see then, such men as have authority over the bishops—such men as receive from God commandments concerning religion—such as bring home again the ark of God; make holy hymns; oversee the priests; build the temple; make orations touching divine service; cleanse the temples; destroy the hill altars; burn the idols' groves; teach the priests their duties; write them out precepts how they should live;

palace. The ecclesiastics who followed their bishop, were detained in the first or second apartment, and he alone was admitted to the presence of Belisarius. The conqueror of Rome and Carthage was modestly seated at the feet of Antonina, who reclined on a stately couch: the general was silent, but the voice of reproach and menace issued from the mouth of his imperious wife. Accused by credible witnesses, and the evidence of his own subscription, [to an intercepted letter to the king of the Goths,] the successor of St. Peter was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, clad in a mean habit of a monk, and embarked, without delay, for a distant exile in the east.' (GIBBON, Vol. III. p. 93.) Sylvester was taken first to Patara, in Lycia, and thence to the island of Palmaria, on the western coast of Italy, where he was either starved or murdered, in 538.

Vigilius purchased the succession by a bribe of two hundred pounds of gold, from Antonina, the flagitious wife of Belisarius, and in this instance the tool of the equally flagitious empress Theodora. He was not actually *deposed* by Justinian. In the obscure controversy concerning the *Three Chapters*, (one of the many professions of nice differences in faith to which the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies gave occasion,) he espoused an opinion unacceptable to his emperor. He was called to Constantinople, and forced in despite to his own inclinations, to condemn the formulary in question. On his return, the bishops of Africa and the West, by threats of ejection from their communion, induced him to retract. Again he was compelled to a weary journey to the royal city: but being less ready in tergiversation than before, he was sent into exile. This shattered his weak resolution; and a *third* time he changed his profession, and was permitted to return to Rome, but died on his way, in 555. Such is the history of a *Pope*, before the Papal power had attained its manhood!

With respect to the *deposition of Popes* by laymen, JEWELL adds, in the *Defence*: "I leave sundry examples of emperors that by their authority have deposed not only other bishops, but also Popes: as the example of Honorius, that deposed Pope Boniface; of Theodoric, that deposed Pope Symmachus; of Otho, that deposed Pope John XII.; of Henry, that deposed Pope Benedict IX., and that, as it is recorded, not by wilful might or tyranny, but 'imperiali et canonica censura:' 'by his imperial, and the canonical, censure.' Yea, one of your own friends saith thus: 'Populus commendabiliter,' &c. 'The people (of Rome) commendably moved with zeal for the faith, took Pope Constantine, and pulled out his eyes, and deposed him; for that he was a scandal to the Church.' (JOH. DE PARISIIS, *De Potest. Reg.* c. xiv. 23.)"—*Defence*, p. 610.]

kill the wicked prophets ; displace the high priests ; summon together holy Councils ; sit together with the bishops, instructing them what they ought to do ; examine, condemn, and punish heretics ; be made acquainted with matters of religion ; subscribe and give sentence to the determinations of Councils—and do all these things, not by any other man's commission, but in their own name, and that both uprightly and godly : shall we say, It pertaineth not to such men to have to do with religion ? Or shall we say, A Christian magistrate, which dealeth amongst others in these matters, doth either naughtily, or presumptuously, or wickedly ? The most ancient and Christian emperors and kings that ever were, did occupy themselves in these matters, and yet were they never for this cause noted either of wickedness, or of presumption. And who is he that can find out either princes more catholic, or examples more notable ?

Sect. 10. Wherefore, if it were lawful for them to do thus, being but *chief magistrates*, and having the chief rule of commonwealths ; what offence have our princes at this day committed, that they, being in the like degree, may not have leave to do the like ? Or what especial gift of learning, or of judgment, or of holiness, have these men now, that they, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who used to confer with princes and peers concerning religion, do now thus reject and cast off Christian princes from knowing of the cause, and from their meetings ?

Well, thus doing, they wisely and warily provide for themselves, and for their kingdom, which otherwise they see is like shortly to come to nought. For if so be they whom God hath placed in greatest dignity, did see and perceive these men's practices—how CHRIST's commandments be despised by them—how the light of the Gospel is darkened and quenched out by them—and how themselves also be subtly beguiled and mocked, and unawares be deluded by them, and the way to the kingdom of heaven stopped up before them ; no doubt they would never so quietly suffer themselves, neither to be disdained after such a proud sort, nor so despitefully to be scorned and abused by them. But now, through

their own lack of understanding, and through their own blindness, these men have them fast yoked, and in their danger.

CHAPTER XIII.

Grounds of the Reformation.^f

Sect. 1. Verily, we for our parts, as we have said, have done nothing in altering religion, upon either rashness, or arrogance: nor nothing, but with good leisure, and great consideration. Neither had we ever intended to do it, except both the manifest and most assured *Will of God*, opened to us in his *Holy Scriptures*, and the regard of our own salvation, had even constrained us thereunto. For though we have departed from that Church which these men call Catholic, and by that means get us envy amongst them that want skill to judge; yet is this enough for us—and it ought to be enough for every wise and good man, and one that maketh account of everlasting life—that we have gone from that Church which hath power to err; which CHRIST, who cannot err, told so long before, it should err; and which we

^f [This chapter is worthy of the closest attention. Every section is replete with sound wisdom and the dictates of admirable judgment. The whole forms one of the fullest and fairest statements of the motives by which the Reformers were actuated, and the principles which regulated their proceedings in their momentous work, that has proceeded from their pens.

In some of the preceding pages, the spirit of concession, perhaps—perhaps the necessity of arguing from principles common to his opponents, occasionally led JEWELL into concessions in which it would be unwise to follow him; while, on the other hand, at times he urged his opposition to the great errors of Romanism to extremes unwarranted by Scripture or primitive and apostolic doctrine. In this chapter a perfect safeguard against the dangers attendant on either of these courses is provided. The great principles of *Christian liberty*, *private judgment*, *Scriptural authority*, and *the consent of antiquity*, are clearly stated. The use and authority of Councils are reduced to their proper limits; and the extravagant pretensions of the Pope to an exclusive possession of the ministerial succession are briefly and temperately refuted.—The very keystone of the arch of reformation is comprised in these discussions.]

ourselves did evidently see with our eyes to have gone from the old *holy fathers*, and from *the Apostles*, and from CHRIST himself, and from the *primitive and catholic Church* of God: and we are come, as near as we possibly could, to the Church of the Apostles and of the old catholic bishops and fathers—which Church, we know, was sound and perfect, and as TERTULLIAN termeth it “a pure virgin,” spotted as then with no idolatry, nor with any foul and shameful fault; and have directed according to their customs and ordinances, not only our *doctrine*, but also the *sacraments*, and the form of *common prayer*.

Sect. 2. And as we know both CHRIST himself, and heretofore all good men, have done; we have called home again to the *original* and *first foundation* that religion which hath been foully neglected, and utterly corrupted by these men. For we thought it meet thence to take the *pattern of reforming* religion, whence the *ground* of religion was first taken; because this one reason, as saith the most ancient father TERTULLIAN, hath great force against all heresies: ‘Look whatsoever was first, that is true: and whatsoever is latter, that is corrupt.’⁸—IRENÆUS oftentimes appealed to the “oldest

⁸ “Id esse verum, quodcunque primum: id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius.” TERTULL. *adv. Præzean.* c. ii. [TERTULLIAN expresses the sentiment more fully elsewhere:—“Id esse dominicum et verum, quod sit prius traditum: id autem extraneum et falsum, quod sit posterius immissum.” *De Præscr. Hæc.* c. xxxi.]

“To the severe test of this primitive canon, we must ultimately bring the lofty pretensions of the Latin Church. The real question is not, *whether many of its doctrines and practices be not of very remote antiquity*; but the real question is, *whether they can claim such antiquity as reaches to the age of approving apostolic authority*. Unless a chain can be constructed, which shall bind the modern Church of Rome to the primitive Church of CHRIST, the mere comparative antiquity of its peculiar doctrines and practices will assuredly avail nothing. The connecting link will be wanted: and let such doctrines and such practices have been introduced when they may, still, since they cannot be shown to have existed *from the beginning*, they stand convicted of novelty; and on that specific ground, they must, agreeably to the canon of TERTULLIAN, be rejected as spurious.

“If the claim of *immutability from the very age of the Apostles* could, indeed, be substantiated, every dissident from the Latin Church would forthwith incur the charge of manifest heresy. But here lies the grand difficulty of Romanism: a claim is preferred, which never has been, and which never can be substantiated. The very circum-

Churches," which had been nearest to CHRIST's time, and which it was hard to believe had been in error.*

stance of such a claim having been preferred, brings the whole matter to a question of *naked historic fact*; and by the resolution of that question, the Church of Rome is clearly found guilty of innovation." FABER, *Difficulties of Romanism*, B. I. ch. i.]

* IRENEUS *Adv. Hæres.* Lib. III. c. iii. [From the very beginning of the Reformation, this passage has been a bone of contention between Protestants and Romanists. Because among his "old Churches" IRENEUS has named as *chief* that of Rome, the advocates of Papal pretensions put in a loud and pertinacious claim for his suffrage to their cause: and no demonstration of the incongruity of the context with such an interpretation of the passage, or of its inconsistency with all IRENEUS' conduct, and opinions elsewhere expressed, is sufficient to silence their clamours. This adherence to their perversion of the passage is a sufficient warrant for the insertion of the whole of JEWELL's solid confutation; prefixing the passage in dispute.

"Si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant.—Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes confundimus omnes eas, &c.—Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorum principatatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio."—"If the Apostles had known any secret mysteries which they were in the habit of teaching to the perfect apart from the rest and secretly, they would most certainly have imparted them to the persons to whom they committed the Churches themselves [which they had founded].* But as it would be very tedious to enumerate the successions of all the Apostolic Churches in a work of this size, we will confound them [the Gnostics, whom he is opposing,] by tracing, through the succession of bishops down to our own times, the instruction derived from the Apostles, and the faith delivered to men, as it was received by the great, and most ancient, and universally known Church founded at Rome by the two glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul.—For every Church (that is, the faithful every where) in which, by those of every region, the apostolical doctrine has always been preserved, must needs agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminence."†

* [Irenæus is arguing against Gnostics, who, admitting that their doctrine was not to be found in the Scriptures, maintained that it had been communicated by the apostles orally to certain more advanced disciples, whom they called *the perfect*. 'If there were such an oral doctrine,' Irenæus argues, 'where should it be found, if not among the bishops of the apostolic Churches?' The purport of all the remainder of the chapter is to show that among them it was *not* to be found.]

† [This sentence contains the principal point of the dispute between Romanists and Protestants. It involves two or three ambiguities; and as the original is merely a badly executed Latin version of the Greek in which IRENEUS wrote, it is perhaps impossible to say with certainty what is an accurate translation. That given in the text, is most agreeable to the context, and gives the most consistent sense. Others may be given more favourable to the pretensions of the Church of Rome; and some, perhaps, not quite as much so; but they are all liable to serious objections.]

But why at this day is not the same common regard and consideration had? Why return we not to the pattern

On this passage, JEWELL thus remarks: "The pre-eminence that IRENÆUS giveth to the Church of Rome, standeth in consent, and unity, and agreement of doctrine; not in superiority, or government over all the world. For proof whereof, ye may understand that IRENÆUS in the same place likewise specially noteth the Church of Smyrna, planted by Polycarp; and the Church of Ephesus, planted by St. John;* and generally, sundry other great Churches planted by men of apostolical dignity: unto which he willeth us in like manner to repair; and not only to the Church of Rome.†

"The emperor Theodosius willeth his subjects to conform themselves in doctrine, not only to the Roman bishop, but also, either to Nectarius the bishop of *Constantinople*; or to Timothy the bishop of *Alexandria*; or to Pelagius the bishop of *Laodicea*; or to Diodorus the bishop of *Tarsus*; or to Amphilocheus the bishop of *Iconium*; or to Optimus the bishop of *Antioch*; or to Helladius the bishop of *Cæsarea*; or to Otreius the bishop of *Melite*; or to Gregory the bishop of *Nice*; or to Terennius the bishop of *Scythia*; or to Marmarius the bishop of *Martianopolis*. (*Cod. Theodos. Lib. XVI. Tit. 3.*) Unto all and every of these notable great Churches, the emperor willeth all other inferior Churches to repair.—

"So saith TERTULLIAN: 'Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galathæ sint recocti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium Petrus et Paulus, sanguine quoque suo signatum, reliquerunt.' 'Let us see what milk the Corinthians drew from Paul; according to what rule the Galatians were reformed; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians, read; what sound the Romans give, who are so near to us, to whom Peter and Paul left the gospel, sealed with their blood.' (*Contra Marcion. Lib. IV.*)

"Thus the ancient godly fathers willed the faithful to have recourse unto every of these Churches, of Smyrna," &c.—"not for any secret unremoveable virtue in them contained, but only, as IRENÆUS saith, for that the tradition and doctrine of the Apostles had continued there still without corruption: 'In qua semper conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.'

"Therefore TERTULLIAN saith: 'Percurre Ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipse adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsententur; apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italia adjaces, habes Romam: unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est.' 'Run over the apostolic churches, in which the apostles'

* [Towards the close of the chapter: "Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus—in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus Episcopus," &c.—"Sed et quæ est Ephesi ecclesia, a Paulo quidem fundata Joanne autem permanente apud eas usque ad Trajani tempora, testis est verus apostolorum traditio."]

† "Valde longum est, omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones."

of the "old Churches?" Why may we not hear at this time amongst us the same saying which was openly pronounced in times past in the Council of Nice by so many bishops and Catholic fathers, and nobody once speaking against it: ΗΘΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΚΡΑΤΕΙΤΩ—HOLD STILL THE OLD CUSTOMS?

Sect. 3. When Esdras went about to repair the ruins of the temple of God, he sent not to Ephesus,¹ although the most beautiful and gorgeous temple of Diana were there: and when he purposed to restore the sacrifices and ceremonies of God, he sent not to Rome, although peradventure he had heard that there were the solemn sacrifices called *Hecatombæ*, and other called *Solitaurlia*, *Lectisternia*, and *Supplicationes*, and Numa Pompilius' *Ceremonial Books*, or *Manuals*, or *Portueses*,² containing the service of their gods. He thought it enough for him, to set before his eyes, and follow the pattern of the *old temple*, which Solomon at the beginning builded according as God had appointed him; and also those *old customs* and *ceremonies* which God himself had written out by special words for Moses.

The prophet Haggai, after the temple was repaired again by Esdras, and the people might think they had

chairs are yet still continued; in which their authentic letters are recited, sounding out the voice, and representing the face, of each one of them. Is Achaia nearest to you? you have Corinth. If you be not far from Macedonia, you have the Philippians, and the Thessalonians. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus. If you border on Italy, you have Rome: whence we also (dwelling in Africa [to which Rome was the nearest *apostolic church*]) may readily obtain authority.' (*De Præscript. cont. Hæret.*)*

"Thus the ancient fathers taught the people to reform themselves by the example and doctrine, not only of the Church of *Rome*, but also of all other *notable apostolic Churches*."—*Defence*, p. 616, 617.]

¹ [This temple, so famed for its magnificence, is too well known as one of the so called 'wonders of the world' to need any description here. The *first* temple, (that burned by Eratostratus,) which was much more splendid than its successor, was in existence in the time of Ezra.]

² [This obsolete word (otherwise spelt 'portass,' and so given by JOHNSON) is nearly synonymous with 'manual,' signifying a breviary, or portable book of prayers.]

* [This passage of TERTULLIAN is examined by FABER, in his *Difficulties of Romanism*, Chap. I. and Appendix.]

a very just cause to rejoice on their own behalf, for so great a benefit received of ALMIGHTY GOD; yet made he them all burst out into tears,¹ because that they which were yet alive, and had seen the former building of the temple before the Babylonians destroyed it, called to mind how far off it was yet from that beauty and excellency which it had in the old times past before. For then indeed would they have thought the temple worthily repaired, if it had answered to the *ancient pattern*, and to the majesty of the first temple.

St. Paul, because he would amend the abuse of the Lord's Supper which the Corinthians even then began to corrupt, he set before them CHRIST's institution to follow, saying: "I have received of the LORD that which also I delivered unto you."^m

And when CHRIST confuted the error of the Pharisees; ye must, saith he, return to the first beginning: "from the beginning it was not so."ⁿ And when he found great fault with the priests for their uncleanness of life, and covetousness, and would cleanse the temple from all evil abuses, "This house," saith he, "*at the first beginning* it was a house of prayer,"^o wherein all the people might devoutly and sincerely pray together. And so it were your part to use it, now at this day. For it was not builded to the end it should be "a den of thieves."

Likewise also, the good and commendable princes mentioned of in the Scriptures, were praised specially by these words—that "they had walked in the ways of their father David:"^p that is, because they had returned to the *first and original foundation*, and had restored

¹ *Ezra* iii. 12. [JEWELL's assertion that this sorrow was owing to the suggestions of the prophet is mere conjecture, built upon the occurrence of a passage having such tendency, *Hag.* ii. 3.]

^m *1 Cor.* xi. 23.

ⁿ *Matt.* xix. 8.

^o [Thus JEWELL quotes the passage, evidently alluding to our Saviour's declaration when he cleansed the temple, and as evidently deceived by his memory. The very clause on which he lays stress, as most to his purpose, is not given by either of the evangelists. They all represent our Saviour only as saying "*It is written*, My house shall be called a house of prayer."—*Matt.* xxi. 13. *Luke* xix. 46. *Mark* xi. 17. Compare *John* ii. 16, 17.]

^p *1 Ki.* ix. 4. *2 Ki.* xxii. 2. *2 Chron.* ii. 17, &c. Comp. *1 Ki.* viii. 25.

the religion even to the perfection wherein David left it.—And therefore, when we likewise saw that all things were quite trodden under foot by these men, and that nothing remained in the temple of God but pitiful spoils and decays; we reckoned it the wisest and the safest way to set before our eyes those Churches which we know for a surety that they never had erred, and yet never had neither private mass, nor prayers in a strange and barbarous language, nor this corruption of sacraments, and other toys.^a

Sect. 4. And forsomuch as our desire was to have the temple of the LORD restored anew, we would seek none other foundation than the same which we knew was long ago laid by the Apostles, that is, to wit, our SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST.^r And forsomuch as we heard God himself speaking unto us in his word; and saw also the notable examples of the *old* and *primitive* Church: again, how uncertain a matter it was to wait for a General Council; and that the success thereof would be much more uncertain: but specially, forsomuch as we were most ascertained [most surely informed] of God's will, and therefore counted it a wickedness to be too careful and overcumbered about the judgments of mortal men: we could no longer stand taking advice

^a ["Howbeit, we have not—removed or shaken the authority of any one *ancient General Council*. For of all the *ancient Councils* that have been, touching the cases that lie between us in controversy, ye are not yet able to allege one. We have upon good causes removed your vanities and unseemly follies: and have restored again, so much as in us lay, the decrees and canons of the ancient Councils. HINCMAR bishop of Rheims [in the 9th century] saith thus: 'Cum duarum aut trium,' &c. 'When the bishops of two or three provinces meet together, if they by the warrant of the *old Councils* appoint any matter of preaching or doctrine, so that it disagree not from the doctrine of the ancient fathers, it is catholic that they do, and perhaps may be called *universal*.' (HINC. REM. c. 20.) Such are our doings: they agree with the doings of the *ancient fathers*, and have the warrant of the Councils of the *primitive Church*; and therefore they are catholic." *Defence*, p. 623, 624.]

^r 1 Cor. iii. 11.

^s ["'It becometh us not,' ye say, 'to call the determinations of your General Councils the *judgment of mortal men*.' Yet it became S. AUGUSTINE to call the same 'Concilia contententium episcoporum.' 'The Councils of quarrelling bishops.' (*De Unitat. Eccles.* cap. 10.) And again: 'Humanarum contentionum animosa, et perniciosa

with flesh and blood, but rather thought good to do the same thing that both might rightly be done, and hath many a time been done, as well of other good men, as also of many catholic bishops; that is, to remedy our own Churches by a Provincial Synod.¹

For thus, we know, the old fathers used to put matters in experience, before they came to the *public universal Council*. There remain yet sundry Canons, written in Councils of free cities; as of Carthage, under Cyprian;² as of Ancyra, of Neocæsarea,³ and of Gangra, (which is in Paphlagonia,) as some think;⁴ before that the name of the General Council at Nice was ever heard of. After this fashion, in old time, did they speedily meet with and cut short those heretics the

certamina.' 'The bold and hurtful contentions of human quarrels.' (*Ibid.* c. 10.) But what need we many words? Your own PANORMITANUS saith: 'Leges summorum,' &c. 'The laws and determinations of Popes and Councils are called the determinations and laws of men, and so in strait manner of speech, they cannot be called the laws of GOD.' (*In Extra. de Consang. et Affin.* Non debet.)" *Defence*, p. 622.]

¹ ["Certainly, the truth of GOD is not bound neither to person nor to place. Wheresoever it be, either in few or in many, it is evermore catholic, even because it is the truth of GOD. In the Council of Constantinople, it is written thus: 'Definierunt pariter,' &c. 'The fathers agreed altogether, that if any matter should happen to grow in the province, by a council of the province it should be ended.' (*Hist. Tripart.* Lib. IX. c. xiii.) Likewise saith ISIDORUS: 'Manifestum est,' &c. 'It is clear, that matters happening in every province, by a provincial synod may be ordered, as it is concluded in the Council of Nice.' (*Pref. in Concilia.*) Likewise S. AMBROSE saith: 'Sciebant esse,' &c. 'They knew it was a custom that a Council of the East bishops should be holden in the East, and a Council of the West bishops should be holden in the West.' (*in Conc. Aquileien.*) S. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Literas episcoporum, et per sermonem forte sapientiorum cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, licet reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est.' 'Bishops' letters, if they swerve any thing from the truth, may be controlled by the discretion of any other man, that hath more skill in the matter.' (*De Baptismo contra Don.* Lib. II. c. iii.)"—*Defence*, p. 623.]

² [Cyprian held a Council in Carthage, on the subject of infant baptism, in 351 and 352; and another, respecting the admission of such as lapsed in persecution, and the rebaptization of heretics, in 255.]

³ [Both held in the year 314.]

⁴ [Both the date and place of this Council is uncertain. The situation assigned to Gangra by JEWELL is probably correct: but the time at which the Council met is generally placed about 360.—There were several other provincial Councils, of more or less note, antecedent to the Council of Nice.]

Pelagians* and the Donatists,† at home, by private disputation, without any General Council. Thus also, when the emperor Constantine evidently and earnestly took part with Auxentius, the bishop of the Arians' faction, Ambrose,‡ the bishop of the Christians, appealed

* [The Pelagians derived their opinions and their name from PELAGIUS, a British monk, eminent for his learning and the sanctity of his manners. Residing at Rome, in the beginning of the fifth century, he taught that the consequences of the sin of our first parents were confined to themselves—that men are now born in the same state in which Adam was created—that their natural powers are sufficient to work out their own salvation—and that divine grace, although necessary, is only so for the purpose of arousing men to the exertion of those powers. An invasion of the Goths in 409–10, drove Pelagius, and Cœlestius, an Irish monk who assisted him in the propagation of his opinions, from Rome; the one to Sicily, and ultimately to Palestine; the other to Carthage. There Cœlestius was detected, and warmly, not to say bitterly, opposed by Augustine. The result was his condemnation by a Council convened at Carthage in 412, and the deputation of a presbyter to Palestine to denounce Pelagius as a heretic. A council of bishops assembled in Jerusalem, and another convened from all Palestine at Diospolis, acquitted Pelagius; and, on an appeal to the bishop of the metropolis of the empire, even Zosimus, then Pope, espoused the interests of Cœlestius and Pelagius, and pronounced them free from the stain of heresy. But the industry, perseverance, learning, eloquence, and invective, of Augustine, were ultimately successful. After the convention of numerous councils, and the publication of still more numerous writings, by the African bishop, Pelagianism was entirely suppressed in those parts; and though it lingered some time in the remoter West, and in some districts of the East, yet the anathema of the General Council of Ephesus in 431 was directed against an oppressed and rapidly expiring sect.]

† [See *Standard Works*, Vol. I. p. 80, Note 2. The downfall of the Donatist schism, which in the middle of the fourth century numbered four hundred bishops as its supporters, and continued to flourish nearly a century in fearful vigour, is hardly to be attributed to the Councils and disputations held on its account. The inroads of the Saracens laying waste the province of Africa, to which it was confined, were a far more efficient agent; and to their operation the final disappearance of the Donatists is unquestionably to be traced.]

‡ [In place of AMBROSE, the Latin text, and the translation in the *Fathers of the English Church*, have ATHANASIUS. A. C. CAMPBELL has the same, with the foolish note 'Some read Ambrose for Athanasius:' as if either might be correct!

There is some strange blunder in this passage. JEWELL, probably trusting to memory, appears to have confounded two bishops of the name of *Auxentius*, both conspicuous in transactions which took place at Milan; with one of whom *Athanasius* was concerned, with the other *Ambrose*. Hence he seems to have inserted the name of *Athanasius* in his original work; but on second thoughts, to have substituted that of *Ambrose*, when he published Lady Bacon's translation

not unto a General Council, where he saw no good could be done, by reason of the emperor's might and great labour; but only to his own clergy and people, that is to say, to a Provincial Synod. And thus it was decreed in the Council at Nice, that the bishops should assemble twice every year. And in the Council at Carthage it was decreed that the bishops should meet together in each of their provinces at least once in the year: which was done, as saith the Council of Chalcedon, of purpose that if any errors or abuses had happened to spring up anywhere, they might immediately at the first entry be destroyed, even where they first began. So likewise when Secundus and Palladius rejected the Council of Aquileia, because it was not a General and Common Council, St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, made answer, that no man ought to take it for a new or strange matter that the bishops of the West part of the world did call together Synods, and make *private assemblies* in their provinces, for that it was a thing before that time not seldom used by the bishops of the West Church, and by the bishops of Greece used oftentimes, and commonly to be done. And so Charles the Great, being emperor, held a Provincial Council in Germany,

together with the *Defence*. Yet in either case the mention of *Constantine* would have been an error; since even Auxentius the *Elder* was not brought into notice until his appointment to the bishopric of Milan by Constantius, the successor of Constantine.

The story to which JEWELL means to allude, rightly told, is as follows.—In the year 386, the emperor Valentinian the younger promulgated an edict in confirmation of the Arian Council of Rimini; and at the same time resolved to give the Arians possession of a church in Milan, an object at which they had long been aiming, under the sanction of Justina, the mother of the emperor, and even of Valentinian himself, but had hitherto been defeated by the exertions of Ambrose, then bishop of the city. To accomplish this measure, the banishment of Ambrose was determined; but the populace resisted the execution of the sentence, and defended their bishop, in the cathedral, several days. During this time, the proposition was made, that he should go to the palace, and hold a disputation with Auxentius (*the younger*) an Arian bishop; which he refused, on the ground that in such case the decision would be left to laymen and Pagans. He did not wholly refuse to submit the matter to a Council: but demurred, on the ground that the occasion was not of sufficient importance to warrant the summons of such a body; and that the points in dispute between the Arians and orthodox had already been decided.]

for putting away images, contrary to the second Council at Nice.*

Neither even amongst us is this so very a strange and a new trade. For we have had ere now in England Provincial Synods, and have governed our Churches by home-made laws.

Sect. 5. What should one say more? Of a truth, even those greatest Councils, and where most assembly of people ever was, (whereof these men use to make such an exceeding reckoning,) compare them with all the Churches which throughout the world acknowledge and profess the name of CHRIST, and what else, I pray you, can they seem to be, but certain *private councils* of bishops, and *provincial synods*? For, admit peradventure Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland, meet together: if there want Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Mauritania, in all which places there be both many Christian men, and also bishops: how can any man, being in his right mind, think such a Council to be a *General Council*? And where so many parts of the world do lack, how can they truly say, they have the consent of *the whole world*? Or what manner of Council, ween you, was the same last of Trent? Or how might it be a *General Council*, whereas out of all Christian kingdoms and nations there came unto it but only *forty* bishops;^b and of the

* [HARDING denies this statement, positively affirming that the Council in question was held at Frankfort by Pope Adrian and Charles the Great 'against the wicked Council of the heretics, named *Image-breakers*, which they held a little before that, at Constantinople.' Without entering into an examination of the proofs brought by JEWELL in support of his statement, it may suffice to award to his adversary's affirmation its proper title—that of an *impudent falsehood*. Even Romish historians now admit without hesitation that the Council convened at Frankfort in 794 by Charlemagne, did sanction a book previously published by that emperor's authority, in which the decrees of the Second Council of Nice in favour of image-worship were opposed and severely censured, and the middle course of *allowing* images to remain in churches, but *forbidding* their worship, was adopted.—LUMPER *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 290.]

^b ["What lawful summons sent your Pope Pius either to Peter Jan into Ethiopia; or to other bishops and Christians in India; ~~or~~ (Europe only, and that not whole, excepted,) what summons sent he unto any

same, some so cunning that they might be thought meet to be sent home again to learn their grammar, and so well learned that they had never studied any part of divinity?

Sect. 6. Howsoever it be, the truth of the Gospel dependeth not upon Councils, nor, as St. Paul saith, upon the judgments of mortal creatures. And if they which ought to be careful for God's Church will not be

other kingdom or country in the world?—Ye say: 'The Patriarchs of Assyria and Armenia' (that never saw neither the one country nor the other) 'were at Rome' (ye know not when) 'and subscribed to the articles of your Council of Trent.' Oh, M. Harding, ye can get no great credit by open mockery! It is no hard matter for your Pope, out of his own gard [wardship, or retinue,] to make such Patriarchs enow; one for Jerusalem, another for Constantinople, another for Alexandria, another for Antioch, another for Sidon, another for Tyre: and I marvel if there be not some patriarch, one or other, for Sodom and Gomorrah. These poor holy and hungry fathers are contented at all times to yield their submissions, and to set their hands to whatsoever they shall be required, and in the names of those countries that they scarcely ever heard of, to confess the Pope, their master, to be all, and more than all. With such vain shows and vizards it pleaseth you to smooth the world!

"If ye doubt hereof, ye may easily find that one Augustinus de Roma, in your late Council of Basil, bare the name of the Archbishop of Nazareth in Jewry: and yet, poor man, had he never seen Nazareth in all his life! Likewise, that one Peter Paludensis, a poor friar Observant, [of the Observantine order,] not long since, bare the name of the Patriarch of Jerusalem: and yet had he never seen Jerusalem, nor knew which way to go to it! But what need more examples? Your own *Ceremoniary of Rome* telleth you thus: 'Consueverunt antiqui,' &c. 'They were wont in old times to place the Patriarchs of the four principal Churches together with the Cardinals, one with another. But now-a-days they are placed next beneath all the Cardinals. For in a manner they have now nothing else but the name of Patriarchs.' (*Ceremoniar. Lib. I. Sect. 3.*) Such guests were your Patriarchs of Assyria and Armenia, that subscribed to your Council of Trent. They bare the names of those countries, M. Harding: but the countries they had never seen.

"It is most certain, that the Christian Patriarchs and bishops of those countries will neither communicate with the Pope, either in sacraments or in prayers, nor anywise yield to his authority, nor give any manner of honour or reverence to his person, no more than to Mahomet, or Antichrist; as I have sufficiently shown before.

"Touching the number of bishops present at your former assembly at Trent, I refer myself to the records of the same. If ye find there more than *forty bishops*, I am content to lose my credit."—*Defence*, p. 624, 625.]

• 1 Cor. iv. 1—5.

wise, but slack their duty, and harden their hearts against God and his CHRIST, going on still to "pervert the right ways of the LORD;"^d God will stir up the very stones,^e and make children and babes cunning,^f that there may ever be some to confute their lies. For God is able, not only without Councils, but also will the Councils nill the Councils, to advance his own kingdom. "There are many devices in a man's heart;" saith Solomon, "nevertheless the counsel of the LORD, that shall stand."^g "There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the LORD."^h—"Things endure not," saith HILARY, "that be set up with man's workmanship. By another manner of means must the Church of God be builded and preserved: for that Church is grounded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and is holden fast together by one corner-stone, which is CHRIST JESUS."ⁱ

Sect. 7. But marvellous notable, and to very good purpose, for these days, be S. JEROME's words: "Whomsoever," saith he, "the devil hath deceived, and enticed to fall asleep, as it were, with the sweet and deadly enchantments of the mermaids the sirens;^k those persons doth God's word awake up, saying unto them, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and CHRIST shall give thee light.^l Therefore at the coming of CHRIST, of God's word, of the ecclesiastical doctrine, and of the full destruction of Nineveh, and of that most beautiful harlot; then shall the people, which heretofore had been cast in a trance under their masters, be raised up, and shall make haste to go to the mountains of the Scripture: and there shall they find hills—I mean Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun; other hills also, which are the prophets; and hills of the New Testament, which are the Apostles and the Evangelists. And when the people shall flee for succour to such hills, and shall be exercised in the reading of

^d Acts xiii. 10.^e Luke xix. 40.^f Matt. xi. 25.^g Prov. xix. 21.^h Prov. xxi. 30.ⁱ HILARIUS *in Psal.* 126.^k ['Syrenarum,' is JEROME's expression. The words in the text appear to be a two-fold translation, left in the manuscript for choice, and both printed by mistake.]^l Eph. v. 14.

this kind of mountains, though they find not one to teach them, (for the harvest shall be great, and the labourers few,) yet shall the good desire of the people be well accepted, in that they have gotten them to such hills; and the negligence of their masters shall be openly reprov'd."^m These be S. JEROME's words, and that so plain, as there needeth no interpreter. For they agree so just with the things we now see with our eyes have already come to pass, that we may verily think he meant to foretell, as it were by the spirit of prophecy, and to paint before our face, the universal state of our time; the fall of the most gorgeous harlot Babylon; the repairing again of God's Church; the blindness and sloth of the bishops; and the good will and forwardness of the people. For who is so blind, but he seeth these men be the 'masters' by whom the people, as saith S. JEROME, hath been led into error, and lulled asleep? Or who seeth not that Rome—that is their Nineveh, which sometime was painted with fairest colours, now, her vizard being pulled off, is both better seen, and less set by? Or who seeth not, that good men, being awaked, as it were, out of their dead sleep, at the light of the Gospel, and at the voice of God, have resorted to the 'hills' of the Scriptures, waiting not at all for the Councils of such 'masters'?ⁿ

^m HIERON. in *Nahum* iii. [The allusions of the passage can hardly be understood without a perusal of the chapter.]

ⁿ [HARDING denies the pertinency of the passage of JEROME; alleging that it was designed to apply to the literal destruction of Nineveh, and to the time of our Saviour's advent, and denying its reference in any way to the Christian Church. JEWELL, in reply, shows at length from a multitude of parallel passages in JEROME, that it was his custom to speak of the corruption of the Christian Church and clergy in the terms used in this passage, and quotes similar expressions and sentiments from other early writers. As to the designation of the Church of Rome as *Babylon*, he writes: "'About Babylon,' ye say, 'ye never make an end of babbling.' What babbling then, I pray you, made S. JEROME, when he said, 'Petrus in prima Epistola, sub nomine *Babylonis*, Romam significat:' 'St. Peter, in his first Epistle, meant Rome, under the name of *Babylon*'? (*Cat. Script. Eccles.* in Marco.) S. AUGUSTINE saith: 'Roma est quasi secunda *Babylon*.' 'Rome is as the second Babylon.' (*De Genesi cont. Manich.* Lib. II. c. i.) Again he saith: 'Cives *Babylonis* nos fecerunt,' &c. 'They have made us the citizens of Babylon: (for) we have left our Creator and have worshipped a creature: we have left Him that made us, and have adored that thing that we made ourselves.' (*In Ps.* xlv.)

Sect. 8. 'But by your favour,' some will say, 'these things ought not to have been attempted without the bishop of Rome's commandment, forso much as he only is the knot and band of Christian society. He only is that priest of Levi's order, whom God signified in Deuteronomy,* from whom counsel in matters of weight, and true judgment, ought to be fet [fetched]; and whoso obeyeth not his judgment, the same man ought to be killed in the sight of his brethren: and that no mortal creature hath authority to be judge over the Pope—whatsoever he do: that CHRIST reigneth in the heaven, and the Pope in earth: that the Pope alone can do as much as CHRIST or GOD can do, because CHRIST and the Pope have but one Consistory: that without him is no faith, no hope, no Church; and whoso goeth from him, quite casteth away and renounceth his own salvation.'—Such talk have the Canonists, the Pope's parasites; but with small discretion or soberness. For they could scantily say more, at least they could not speak more highly, of CHRIST himself.

Sect. 9. As for us, truly we have fallen from the bishop of Rome upon no manner of worldly respect or commodity. And would he had so behaved himself, that this falling away had not needed! But so the case stood, that unless we left him, we could not come to CHRIST. Neither will he now make any other league with us, than such a one as Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, would have made in times past with the city of Jabez; which was, to put out the right eye of

Likewise saith PRIMASIUS: 'Tunc Babylon cadet,' &c. 'Then shall Babylon come to the ground, when she shall last of all take power to persecute the saints of GOD.' (*In Apoc. c. 16.*) And again: 'Vidi mulierem,' &c. 'I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet robe, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads. *Seven heads* he calleth the seven mounts, upon which Rome was built; meaning thereby, Rome that sitteth upon seven hills.' (*In idem caput.*)"—He proceeds to allege LOUIS VIVES, AMBROSE ANSBERT, BEATUS RHENANUS, AVENTINUS, PETRARCH, and DANTE, as writers of the Romish faith agreeing in the same application of the name *Babylon*; and concludes his answer by quoting from JEROME and CHRYSOSTOM some very strong passages relative to a future general apostacy, and the necessity of a resort, in such case, to the Scriptures, by the people deserted or neglected by their pastors. *Defence*, p. 628—631.]

* Deut. xvii. 9—12.

each one of the inhabitants, and so to receive them into his friendship.* Even so will the Pope pluck from us the holy Scripture, the Gospel of our salvation, and all the confidence which we have in CHRIST JESUS, as the eye from our head; and upon other condition can he not agree upon peace with us.

Sect. 10. For whereas some use to make so great a vaunt, that the Pope only is Peter's successor—as though thereby he carried the HOLY GHOST in his bosom, and could not err: this is but a matter of nothing, and a very trifling tale. God's grace is promised to a good mind, and to any one that feareth Him;† not to *sees* and *successions*. “Riches,” saith S. JEROME, “may make one bishop to be of more might than the rest: but all bishops,” whatsoever they be, “are the successors of the apostles.”‡ If so be the place and consecration only be sufficient: why then Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas succeeded Aaron; and it hath been often seen, that an idol hath been placed in the temple of God.

In old time Archidamus the Lacedæmonian boasted much of himself, how he came of the blood of Hercules; as the Pope this day boasteth himself of the succession and place of Peter. But one Nicostratus in this wise abated his pride: ‘Nay,’ quoth he, ‘thou seemest not to descend from Hercules: for Hercules destroyed evil men, and thou makest good men evil.’—And when the Pharisees bragged of their lineage, how they were of the kindred and blood of Abraham: “Ye,” saith CHRIST, “seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham. Ye do the deeds of your father.—Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.”§

Sect. 11. Yet notwithstanding, because we will grant somewhat to succession; tell us, Hath *the Pope alone succeeded Peter*? And wherein, I pray you? In what

* 1 Sam. xi. 1, 2.

† Ps. xxv. 9, 12.

‡ “Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorum, vel inferiorum episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.” JEROME. *ad Evagrium*.

§ John viii. 40, 41, 44.

¶ [“For that ye tell us so many fair tales of *Peter's succession*, we

religion, in what office, in what piece of his life hath he succeeded him? What one thing, tell me, had Peter ever like the Pope, or the Pope like unto Peter?—Except, peradventure he will say thus: That Peter, when he was at Rome, never taught the Gospel—never fed the flock—took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven—hid the treasures of his Lord—sat him down only in his castle of St. John Lateran,^u and pointed out with his finger all the places and chambers of Purgatory, and kinds of punishments; committing some poor souls to be tormented, and other some again suddenly releasing thence at his own pleasure, taking money for so doing: or that he gave order to say *private masses* in every corner: or that he hanged up the Sacrament in every temple, and on every altar; and carried the same about before him, whithersoever he went, upon an ambling jennet, with lights and bells: or that he consecrated with his holy breath *oil*,^v *wax*,^w *wool*,^x *bells*,^y *chalices*,

demand at you, Wherein the Pope succeedeth Peter? You answer, 'He succeedeth him *in his Chair*:' as if Peter had been sometime installed in Rome, and had sat solemnly all day with his *triple crown*, in his *pontificals*, and in a *chair of gold*! And thus, having lost both *religion* and *doctrine*, ye think it sufficient at least to hold by *the Chair*; as if a soldier that had lost his sword, would play the man with the scabbard! But so Caiaphas succeeded Aaron: so wicked Manasses succeeded David: so may Antichrist easily sit in *Peter's chair*.—CHRYSOSTOM saith: 'It is not *the chair*, that maketh the bishop: but it is the *bishop* that maketh the chair. Neither is it the *place*, that halloweth the man: but it is the *man* that halloweth the place.' (CHRYSOST. [as quoted in the Canon Law] *Dist.* 40. Multi.) [*Op. Imp.* Hom. 43 ad Matth. xxiii.] Likewise S. JEROME saith: 'Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum.' 'They are not always the children of holy men who occupy the places of holy men.' (HIERON. [quoted in] *Dist.* 40. Non est facile.) [*Ep.* 1 ad Heliodor.]"—*Defence*, p. 634.]

^u [The Lateran, a palace at Rome formerly belonging to the emperors, was given to the bishop of Rome by Constantine, and continued to be the habitation of the Popes, until their removal to Avignon in the fourteenth century. It is called St. John Lateran, from a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, built by Constantine, contiguous to the palace.]

^v [He alludes to the *chrism*, or holy oil, used in the administration of Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders, according to the Romish rites, and in the pretended sacrament of Extreme Unction.]

^w [Used in the consecrated tapers, and in the formation of the toy called *Agnus Dei*.]

^x [Pure white wool is blessed by the Pope, for the purpose of being woven into *palls*.]

^y [The *baptism of bells* has been already remarked on, as a usage.]

churches,^a and *altars* : or that he sold *jubilees,*^a *graces,*
liberties,^b *advowsons,*^c *preventions,*^d *first fruits,*^e *palls,*^f
the *wearing of palls,*^g *bulls,*^h *indulgences,* and *pardons* :
or that he called himself by the name of the *Head of the*

having the sanction of the Roman Church. It was introduced in the tenth century—the very midnight of the dark ages.]

^a [As the rite of *Consecration of churches*, or solemnly setting them apart, with appropriate forms of worship, to the use and service of ALMIGHTY GOD, has never been disused or disapproved by the Church of England, and has the highest sanction from Scripture, reason, and the practice of the Church so soon as its circumstances permitted; JEWELL must be understood as censuring not the thing itself, but its *abuse*. The consecration of a church according to the Romish form is accompanied with a multitude of trifling and superstitious ceremonies :—one of the most weighty accusations brought against the unfortunate Archbishop Laud, was his introduction of many of these puerilities into his own practice.]

^b [See Note ^a, page 173.]

^c [By *graces and liberties* JEWELL means the Papal *dispensations*, so notoriously made an article of sale, even to this day. By these the Pope grants, to those who by political influence or the payment of a sufficient sum can make it appear his interest so to do, permission to violate some one or more of the laws of GOD or the Church, without liability to pain or penalty. Formerly, these were even extended to positive breaches of the Ten Commandments. Now, they are ordinarily confined to such cases as marriage within the degrees prohibited by the Canon Law, departure from monastic rules and dress, the use of flesh in Lent, &c.]

^d [The right to confer an ecclesiastical benefice ; either for a single vacancy, or in perpetuity.]

^e [By *preventions*, JEWELL doubtless intends what are now called *reversions* ; the right of succession to some ecclesiastical charge or benefice upon the death of the present holder.

To the disgrace and most serious injury of the Church of England, neither of these abuses were removed from her precincts at the Reformation. *Advowsons* and *reversions* are to this day a notorious branch of traffic and barter.]

^f [A certain proportion, or the whole, of the first year's proceeds of an ecclesiastical benefice, paid by the person preferred, in some cases to his immediate ecclesiastical superior ; in those of the higher dignitaries, to the Pope. The *first fruits* of the English bishoprics are still paid, but to the monarch, instead of the Pope.]

^g [See Note ^a, p. 217.—The procuring of the *pall* from Rome, was attended with the payment of enormous fees, both to the officers of the ecclesiastical court, and to his Holiness himself. The remission of these fees was occasionally made an article of special favour.]

^h [The grant of the right to *wear a pall* to the incumbent of a particular see (which was attended with certain immunities and prerogatives) was repeatedly made the subject of treaty and traffic between the court of Rome and bishops in foreign lands.]

ⁱ [See Note ^a, page 173.]

Church, the highest bishop, the bishop of bishops, alone most holy: or that by usurpation he took upon himself the right and authority over other bishops' Churches: or that he exempted himself from the power of any civil government: or that he maintained wars, and set princes together at variance: or that he, sitting in his chair, with his triple crown full of labels, with sumptuous and Persian-like gorgeousness, with his royal sceptre, with his diadem of gold and glittering with stones, was carried about, not upon a palfrey, but upon the shoulders of noblemen.—These things, no doubt, did Peter at Rome in times past, and left them in charge to his successors, as you would say, from hand to hand: for these things be now-a-days done at Rome by the Popes; and be so done, as though nothing else ought to be done.

Or, contrariwise, peradventure they had rather say thus: That the Pope doth now all the same things that we know Peter did many a day ago: that is, that he runneth up and down into every country to preach the Gospel, not only openly abroad, but also privately, from house to house;¹ that he is diligent, and applieth that business, in season and out of season—in due time and out of due time;² that he doth the part of an evangelist; that he fulfilleth the work and ministry of CHRIST;³ that he is the watchman of the house of Israel⁴—receiveth answers and words at God's mouth, and even as he receiveth them, so delivereth them over to the people; that he is the salt of the earth;⁵ that he is the light of the world;⁶ that he doth not feed himself, but his flock;⁷ that he doth not entangle himself with the worldly cares of this life;⁸ that he doth not use a sovereignty over the LORD's people;⁹ that he seeketh not to have other men minister unto him, but himself rather ministereth unto others;¹⁰ that he taketh all bishops as his fellows and equals; that he is subject to princes, as to persons sent from God;¹¹ that he giveth to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's;¹² and that he—as the

¹ Acts ii. 46. v. 42. xx. 20.

² 2 Tim. iv. 5.

³ Matth. v. 13.

⁴ Acts xx. 28, 29. 1 Pet. v. 2.

⁵ 1 Pet. v. 3.

⁶ Rom. xiii. 1—4.

⁷ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

⁸ Ezek. xxxiii.

⁹ Matt. v. 14.

¹⁰ 2 Tim. ii. 4.

¹¹ Matt. xx. 26—28.

¹² Matt. xxii. 21.

old bishops of Rome did, without contradiction—callesth the emperor 'his gracious Lord.'—Unless, therefore, the Popes do the like now-a-days as Peter did, there is no cause at all, why they should glory so much of Peter's name, and of his *succession*.

Sect. 12. Much less cause have they to complain of our departing, and to call us again to be fellows and friends with them, and to believe as they believe. Men say, that one Cobilon a Lacedæmonian, when he was sent ambassador to the king of the Persians, to treat of a league, and found by chance them of the court playing at dice, he returned straightway home again, leaving his message undone. And when he was asked why he had slacked to do the things which he had received by public commission to do; he made answer, he thought it should be a great reproach to his commonwealth to make a league with dicers. But if we should content ourselves to return to the Pope and to his errors, and to make a covenant, not only with dicers, but also with men far more ungracious and wicked than any dicers be; besides that this should be a great blot to our good name, it should also be a very dangerous matter, both to kindle God's wrath against us, and to clog and condemn our own souls for ever.

For, of very truth, we have departed from him, who we saw had blinded the whole world this many a hundred year; from him, who too far presumptuously was wont to say 'He could not err,' and whatsoever he did 'No mortal man had power to condemn him—neither king, nor emperor, nor the whole clergy, nor yet all the people in the world together—no, though he should carry away with him a thousand souls into hell:' from him who took upon him power to command, not only men, but even the angels of God, to go, to return, to lead souls into purgatory, and to bring them back again when he list himself: who, GREGORY saith, without all doubt is the very forerunner and standard-bearer of Antichrist, and hath utterly forsaken the catholic faith: from whom also these ringleaders of ours, who now with might and main resist the Gospel and the truth, which they know to be the truth, have ere this departed every one of their own accord and good will; and

would even now also gladly depart from him again, if the note of inconstancy and shame, and their own estimation among the people, were not a let unto them.* In conclusion, we have departed from him unto whom we were not bound, and who had nothing to say for himself, but only I know not what virtue or power of the place where he dwelleth, and a continuance of succession.

Sect. 13. And as for us, we, of all others, have most justly left the Pope. For our kings, yea, even they which with greatest reverence did follow and obey the authority and faith of the bishops of Rome, have long

* [JEWELL here alludes to the tergiversations of Gardiner and Bonner, who having complied with all the whims of Henry, had renounced the Papal supremacy, and in the reign of Edward were rather prevented from yielding than unwilling to yield to the current of opinion: they were known as at heart the foes of reformation, and treated rather in accordance with their sentiments than with their professions. HARDING himself, in the reign of Edward, had been a champion of Protestant opinions.

In reply to this charge of time-serving, HARDING pleads *constraint*—they were fain to dissimulate, in fear of death—and mingles his complaint with some very intelligible intimations of a hope that the time of retaliation would yet arrive. JEWELL answers in a noble strain:—

“As for drawing of your blood, ye need not so greatly to complain. The Gospel of CHRIST is not bloody. It hath hitherto prevailed without one drop of all your blood. GOD give you grace to repent, lest your own blood be upon your own head, in the day of the LORD! Fire, and sword, and merciless cruelty, are the only instruments of your doctrine. And therefore ye seem now to say, in your blind hope, as cursed Esau sometime said of his brother Jacob, ‘The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob.’ (*Gen. xxvii. 41.*) ATHANASIUS saith: ‘It is the part of Christians to *suffer* persecution: but to *persecute* the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas.’ (*Ad Solitarios.*) We will say unto you with AUGUSTINE: ‘*Illi in vos,*’ &c. ‘Let them persecute you, and use cruelty over you, that know not what a labour it is to find the truth, and how hard it is to beware of error.’ (*Cont. Epist. Fund. c. 1.*) Again he saith: ‘*Nemo de præteritis,*’ &c. ‘No man upbraideth other with errors past, but he that hath not so experienced the divine mercy, as to be made free from errors. Let this be our only labour, that errors at last may have an end.’—We will say of you as St. Peter sometime said of Simon the Sorcerer, when the people for anger, seeing his falsehood, would have stoned him to death, ‘Nay, nay, let him live, and let him see the kingdom of CHRIST to grow and prosper even against his will.’ Thus may we say to you. As for your blood, we long not for it.” *Defence*, p. 638.]

since found and felt the yoke and tyranny of their kingdom. For the bishops of Rome sometime took the crown from the head of our king Henry the Second,* and compelled him to put aside all his princely state

* [This was in the matter of Thomas a Becket, archbishop, the canonized martyr for clerical pretensions. That haughty prelate had set at defiance the authority of the king, in times when the kingly authority was but ill-defined. The opposition between the will of the monarch and the independence of the prelate had degenerated into actual hostility. On the one hand, unjust and illegal measures had been employed by the king to crush his contumacious subject. On the other, the most unjustifiable pretensions to immunity from control and legal subordination had been set up, and maintained with unconquerable pertinacity. A six years' banishment embittered the animosity, but did not quell the pride, of the archbishop. On his return, which the terror of spiritual censures, and political embarrassments, constrained Henry to sanction, even by the personal humiliation of holding the legate's stirrup, (for the Pope had invested his champion with the highest office in his gift,) Becket manifested more than ever his determination to set the temporal power below the ecclesiastical. His politic and energetic measures drove the monarch almost to despair, and in his trouble, he rashly expressed the wish to be freed from his tormentor so as to be understood to desire his murder. The rash wish was carried into effect by a more rash act, and before the altar, in all the fearlessness of conscious power, the primate was slain by four dependents of the court. This deed at once placed the king irrevocably in the wrong, in the judgment of all Christendom. The blood of a martyr for the cause of the Church cried aloud for vengeance, and nothing but the speediest and most entire submission could have saved the crown, and perhaps the life, of Henry. He took pains to testify, in the strongest manner, his abhorrence of the sacrilegious act, and instantly sent ambassadors to the Pope, to disavow all participation and connivance. The oath of his ambassadors, chosen from among the clergy, that he was free from the guilt of Becket's death, and the promise of entire submission to the papal mandates, obtained a temporary delay of sentence : and afterward a total exculpation was procured, on his personal appearance before the legates of the Pope, and oath that he had no knowledge of the designs of the murderers ; yet on condition of the payment of large sums of money, and other equally degrading tokens of submission.

Henry claims little sympathy in his degradation : for although the pretensions of Becket were unwarrantable and insolent, yet the means resorted to by the king in the beginning of the quarrel put justice away from his side ; and his oppression by the papal power was but a just visitation of his own unwise and mean concessions to that power. He first introduced, or permitted the burning of heretics in England. He allowed his subjects to be taxed for the ostensible purpose of delivering Palestine from the infidels, but really to the benefit of Rome. And he actually demanded, and obtained, a grant of Ireland, then an independent state, from the Pope ; (Adrian III ;) to be invaded by him, and subjugated to the Holy See !]

and majesty, and like a mere private man to come unto their Legate with great submission and humility, so as all his subjects might laugh him to scorn. More than this, they caused bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, to be in the field against our king John, and set all the people at liberty from their oaths, whereby they owed allegiance to their king : and at last, wickedly, and most abominably they bereaved the same king, not only of his kingdom, but also of his life.* Besides this, they excommunicated king Henry the Eighth,† that

* [The history of John's weak and wicked reign would be required, to elucidate this statement : but it would far exceed the limits of a note. Suffice it to say, that when his perfidy and tyrannous oppression had alienated the hearts of his own subjects, and his weak sway rendered his kingdom an easy object for the grasp of ambitious neighbours, he suffered himself to be involved in a quarrel with Innocent III. the Pope, who, of all before or after, carried his claims, and arrogant exercise of spiritual power, to the highest pitch. The quarrel proceeded to the last extremity. The kingdom was laid under an interdict. The monarch was excommunicated. The sentence of deposition was fulminated. Philip of France assembled a fleet and army, prepared to further his own designs under the pretence of executing the sentence of Rome. The army of John was disunited, spiritless, and ready to desert its head in the least reverse. In this state of things the legate of the Pope made his last offers ; and John, to extricate himself from the impending danger, consented to *do solemn homage* to the legate, as representative of the Pope, for his own kingdom, to acknowledge the *inalienable property of the kingdom to lie* in the Holy See, and to pay a yearly tribute, in token of his allegiance !—JEWELL seems to connect, or confound, the quarrels of John with the Pope, and with his barons. In the latter, that feeble king was, indeed, again in jeopardy of his throne ; and it is true, that the ostensible object of his opponents was the 'cause of holy Church,' and that they were headed by Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet, throughout this contest, the Pope, alarmed as much for his own pretensions, as for the safety of his avowed vassal, was the fast friend of John, and fulminated his spiritual censures against the rebellious aspirants to freedom.]

† [In the Bull of Paul III., published December 17th, 1537. In this, after an enumeration of his grievances, the Pope required Henry "to appear within ninety days at Rome, either in person, or by proxy, and all his complices within sixty days ; and if he and they did not appear, he declared him to have fallen from his crown, and them from their estates. He put the kingdom under an interdict ; and absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance ; he declared him and his complices infamous ; and put their children under incapacities. He required all the clergy to go out of England within five days after the time prefixed should expire ; leaving only so many as might serve for baptizing children, or giving the sacrament to such as died in penitence. He charged all his [Henry's] subjects to rise in arms against him, and that none should assist him. He absolved all other princes from their

most famous prince, and stirred up against him, sometime the emperor, sometime the French king : and, as much as in them was, put our realm in hazard, to have been a very prey and spoil unto the enemy. Yet were they but fools and madmen, to think that either so mighty a prince could be frayed with bugs and rattles ; or else, that so noble and great a kingdom might so easily, even at one morsel, be devoured and swallowed up.

And yet, as though all this were too little, they would needs have made all the realm tributary to them, and exacted thence yearly most unjust and wrongful taxes.* So dear cost us the friendship of the city of Rome !

Sect. 14. Wherefore, if they have gotten these things of us by extortion, through their fraud and subtle sleights ; we see no reason why we may not pluck away the same from them again, by lawful means, and just means. And if our kings, in that darkness and blindness of the former times, gave them these things of their own accord and liberality, for religion's sake, being moved with a certain opinion of their feigned holiness ; now, when the ignorance and error is espied out, may the kings their successors take them away again, seeing they have the same authority the kings their ancestors had before.

confederacies with him, and obtested them to have no more commerce with him. He required all Christians to make war on him ; and to seize on the persons and goods of all his subjects, and make slaves of them." ; BURNET, *Abridgm. of the Hist. of the Reform.* I. 173.]

* [In the *Defence*, JEWELL enumerates the several sums paid to the Pope from England, for the first fruits and tenths of the bishops and clergy, and the fees and taxes of other kinds ; and quotes from history numerous instances of the extortions and unjust gains of the Popes. He also quotes many free expressions of disapprobation of the fleecing system of Rome, from writers in communion with that Church : among others the following extraordinary passage from an eminent Canonist : "*Roma fundata fuit a prædonibus, et adhuc de primordiis retinet : dicta Roma, quasi rodens manus.* Unde versus :

Roma manus rodet ;

Quos rodere non valet odit."

JO. ANDREÆ *Gloss. in Sexto de Elect. et Elector. Potestat.*—"The first foundation of Rome was laid by thieves ; and hitherto she savoureth still of her beginning : she is called *Rome*, as if biting (*rodens*) the hands (*manus*) : thereof cometh the common verse :

Rome biteth you by the hands ;

And whom she cannot bite, she hateth."]

For the gift is void, except it be allowed by the will of the giver : and that cannot seem a perfect will, which is dimmed and hindered by error.

CHAPTER XIV.

Recapitulation.

Sect. 1. Thus thou seest, good Christian reader, it is no new thing, though at this day the religion of CHRIST be entertained with despites and checks ; being but lately restored, and as it were coming up again anew : forsomuch as the like hath chanced both to CHRIST himself, and to his apostles.^a

Yet nevertheless, for fear thou mayest suffer thyself to be led amiss, and to be seduced with these exclamations of our adversaries ; we have declared at large unto thee the very whole manner of our religion ; what our faith is of GOD the FATHER, of his only SON JESUS CHRIST, of the HOLY GHOST, of the Church, of the Sacraments, of the Ministry, of the Scriptures, of Ceremonies, and of every part of Christian belief.^b

We have said that we abandon and detest, as plagues and poisons, all those old heresies which either the sacred Scriptures, or the ancient Councils, have utterly condemned :^c that we call home again, as much as in us lieth, the right discipline of the Church, which our adversaries have quite brought into a poor and weak case : that we punish all licentiousness of life, and unruliness of manners, by the old and long continued laws, and with as much sharpness as is convenient, and lieth in our power :^d that we maintain still the state of kingdoms, in the same condition and state of honour wherein we found them, without any diminishing or alteration ; reserving to our princes their majesty and

^a Chapter i., ii., iii.

^b Chapter v. (erroneously numbered vi.)

^c Chapter vi.

^d Chapter vii. *Sect.* 1—5.

worldly pre-eminence, safe and without impairing, to our possible power :^a that we so have gotten ourselves away from that Church which they had made a 'den of thieves,' and wherein nothing was in good frame, or once like to the Church of God, and which, by their own confessions, had erred many ways ; even as Lot in times past got him out of Sodom, or Abraham out of Chaldea ; not upon a desire of contention, but by the warning of God himself :^f and that we have searched out of the holy Bible, which we are sure cannot deceive us, one sure form of religion ; and have returned again unto the *primitive Church* of the ancient fathers and apostles—that is to say, to the ground and beginning of things, unto the very foundations and headsprings of CHRIST'S Church.^g

Neither have we tarried in this matter for the authority or consent of the Tridentine Council, [Council of Trent,]^h wherein we saw nothing done uprightly, nor by good order ; where also every body was sworn to the maintenance of one man ; where princes' ambassadors were contemned ; where not one of our divines could be heard ; and where parts' taking and ambition was openly and earnestly procured and wrought : but as the holy fathers in former time, and as our predecessors have commonly done, we have restored our Churches by a *Provincial Convocation*, and have clean shaken off, as our duty was, the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, to whom we were not bound ; who also had no manner of thing like, neither to CHRIST, nor to Peter, nor to an *apostle*, nor to any *bishop* at all.ⁱ

Finally, we say that we agree amongst ourselves touching the whole judgment and chief substance of the Christian religion, and with one mouth, and with one spirit do worship God and the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Sect. 2. Wherefore, O Christian and godly reader, forsomuch as thou seest the reasons and causes, both

^a Chapter vii. *Sect.* 6—end. Chapter xii.

^f Chapter viii. *Sect.* 1—9.

^g Chapter viii. *Sect.* 10—end. Chapter ix.

^h Chapter ix., xi.

ⁱ Chapter xiii.

why we have restored religion, and why we have forsaken these men; thou oughtest not to marvel, though we have chosen to obey our Master CHRIST rather than men. St. Paul hath given us warning that we should not suffer ourselves to be carried away with such sundry learnings,^k and to fly their companies, specially such as would sow debate and variance,^l clean contrary to the doctrine which they had received of CHRIST and the apostles.

Long since have these men's crafts and treacheries decayed and vanished and fled away at the sight and light of the Gospel, even as the owl doth at the sunrising. And albeit their trumpery be built up, and reared as high as the sky, yea, even in a moment, and as it were of itself, falleth it down again to the ground and cometh to nought.

For you must not think that all these things have come to pass by chance, or at adventure. It was God's pleasure, that against all men's wills, well nigh, the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST should be spread abroad throughout the whole world at these days. And therefore men, following God's commandment, have of their own free will resorted unto the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST.

And for our parts, truly we have sought hereby neither glory, nor wealth, nor pleasure, nor ease. For there is plenty of all these things with our adversaries. And when we were of their side, we enjoyed such worldly commodities much more liberally and bountifully, than we do now.

Sect. 3. Neither do we eschew *concord* and *peace*. But to have peace with man, we may not be at war with God. "The name of *peace* is a sweet and pleasant thing," saith HILARY: "but yet beware," saith he; "*peace* is one thing, and *bondage* is another."^m For if it should so be, as they seek to have it, that CHRIST should be commanded to keep silence, that the truth of the Gospel should be betrayed, that horrible errors should be cloaked, that Christian men's eyes should be

^k Heb. xiii. 9.

^l 1 Tim. vi. 5. Rom. xvi. 17.

^m "Dulce quidem est nomen pacis: sed aliud est pax, aliud servitus."

bleared, and that they might be suffered to conspire openly against God; this were not a *peace*, but a most ungodly covenant of servitude. "There is a peace," saith NAZIANZEN, "that is unprofitable: there is a discord," saith he, "that is profitable." For we must conditionally desire peace; so far as is lawful before God, and so far as we may conveniently. For otherwise CHRIST himself "brought not peace into the world, but a sword."ⁿ

Wherefore, if the Pope will have us to be reconciled unto him, his duty is first to be reconciled to God: for "from thence," saith CYPRIAN, "spring schisms and sects, because men seek not the head, and have not their recourse to the fountain, (of the Scriptures,) and keep not the rules given by the heavenly Teacher; for," saith he, "that is not peace, but war; neither is he joined unto the Church, which is severed from the Gospel."^o

Sect. 4. As for these men, they use to make a merchandize of the name of *peace*. For that peace which they so fain would have, is only a rest of idle bellies. They and we might easily be brought to atonement^p touching all these matters, were it not that ambition, gluttony, and excess, doth let it. Hence cometh their whining: their heart is on their halfpenny. Out of doubt, their clamours and stirs be to none other end, but to maintain more shamefully and naughtily ill gotten goods.

Now-a-days the *pardoners*^q complain of us, the *Dataries*,^r the Pope's collectors, the bawds and others

ⁿ Matth. x. 34.

^o "Hinc enim schismata oriuntur, quia Caput non queritur, et ad fontem sacrarum Scripturarum non reeditur, et celestis Magistri præcepta non servantur. Non enim pax est ea, sed bellum; nec Ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab Evangelio separatur."

^p [This passage beautifully illustrates the origin of the word *atonement*, now so completely changed in its signification. LADY BACON uses it, as it was doubtless commonly used in her day, to express the *reconciliation*, the 'being AT ONE,' of parties formerly at variance. Now, it is limited to the *means* of effecting the reconciliation—the *satisfaction* to the aggrieved party.]

^q [Persons empowered to travel through specified districts for the sale of indulgences.]

^r [The receivers of the Papal revenues.]

which think gain to be godliness, and serve not Jesus CHRIST, but their own bellies.* Many a day ago, and in the old world, a wonderful great advantage grew hereby to these kinds of people. But now they reckon all is lost unto them that CHRIST gaineth. The Pope himself maketh a great complaint at this present, that charity in people is waxen cold. And why so, trow ye? Forsooth, because his profits decay more and more. And for this cause doth he hale us into hatred, all that ever he may, laying load upon us with despiteful railings, and condemning us for hereticks; to the end that they that understand not the matter, may think there be no worse men upon earth than we be.

Sect. 5. Notwithstanding, in the mean season we are not ashamed in this behalf: neither ought we to be ashamed of the Gospel. For we set more by the glory of God, than we do by the estimation of men. We are sure all is true that we teach, and we may not either go against our own conscience, or bear any witness against God. For if we deny any part of the Gospel of Jesus CHRIST before men, he on the other side will deny us before his Father.† And if there be any that will still be offended, and cannot endure CHRIST's doctrine; such, say we, be blind, and leaders of the blind: the truth nevertheless must be preached and preferred above all; and we must with patience wait for God's judgment.

Let these folks, in the mean time, take good heed what they do, and let them be well advised of their own salvation, and cease to hate and persecute the Gospel of the Son of God, for fear lest they feel him once a redresser and revenger of his own cause. God will not suffer himself to be made a mocking stock. The world spieth, a good while ago, what there is a doing abroad. This flame, the more it is kept down, so much the more with greater force and strength doth it break out and fly abroad. The unfaithfulness of men shall not disappoint God's faithful promise.‡ And if they shall refuse to lay away this their hardness of heart, and to

* 1 Tim. vi. 5. Rom. xvi. 18.

† Matt. x. 33.

‡ 2 Tim. ii. 13.

receive the Gospel of CHRIST; then shall publicans and sinners go before them into the kingdom of heaven.'

God and the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, open the eyes of them all, that they may be able to see that blessed hope, whereunto they have been called; so as we may together in one glorify Him alone, who is the true God, and also that same JESUS CHRIST whom He sent down to us from heaven: unto whom, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, be given all honour and glory everlastingly. So be it.

▼ Matt. xxi. 31.

▼ Eph. i. 17, 18.

THE END.

TREATISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES:

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN SERMONS

PREACHED AT SALISBURY, ANNO DOMINI 1570 ;

BY JOHN JEWELL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.



TREATISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

AMONG all his creatures in heaven or earth, God hath not made any like unto the sun in the firmament, the beams whereof are beautiful and pleasant, and do give comfort in all places to all things. It rejoiceth the whole, and relieveth the sick; it causeth birds to sing, fishes to play, cattle to stir, worms to creep, grass to grow, and trees to bring fruit; it reneweth the face of the whole earth.—Yet a blind man hath no pleasure in the beauty thereof, because he is blind, and cannot see it; yet a dead man hath no warmth by the heat thereof, because he is dead, and feeleth it not.

Adam was placed in Paradise in perfect estate, and in the company of God's angels; God walked and did talk with him. He heard the voice, and beheld the presence of God. The rivers yielded waters abundantly, the trees brought him the fruit of life. He had plenty without travail; he had pleasures, joy, and his heart's desire.—But Adam was unthankful; he knew not God, the worker of his happiness; he knew not the place in which he was; he knew not his own estate and blessedness; therefore the wrath of the LORD grew against him; he fell into the snares of the devil, he became mortal, and returned to dust.

What nation in all the world so happy as Israel? They were delivered by a mighty hand out of Egypt, from the tyranny of Pharaoh, from service and villainy.* Their children were no more slain before their faces. They passed through the bottom of the sea, as upon dry land. When they were hungry, "there went forth

* [*Vilainy*: from the old word *Vilain*, equivalent to *Vassal*;—a state of vassalage, or bond-service.]

a wind from the LORD, and brought them quails from the sea,"^b and manna was given them from heaven to eat; when they thirsted, the rocks opened and poured out water, that they and their beasts might drink. In battle they were mighty and strong, no power was able to stand against them. "The LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light."^c When they called upon the LORD, he heard them. When they trusted in him, they were not confounded.—But they grew unmindful of these mercies, and murmured against the LORD, and against his servants; therefore God reached [reached] forth his hand against them. "He sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest."^d He sent his angel, and destroyed them in the wilderness.

Even so fareth it with all such which regard not the word of their salvation; because they "have ears and hear not, nor will understand with their hearts,"^e the fury of the LORD shall be kindled against them. The prophet saith, in the name of God to Israel, "I have sent unto them all my servants the Prophets, yet they would not hear me, nor incline their ear,"^f And: "Behold, I sow my law in you, that it may bring forth fruit in you. But our fathers which received the law kept it not; neither observed thine ordinances, neither did the fruit of thy law appear. For they that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was sown in them."^g Samuel telleth Saul: "Thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, and the LORD hath rejected thee."^h Again, Jeremiah saith, "How do ye

^b Num. xi. 31.

^c Ex. xiii. 21.

^d Ps. xcv. 11.

^e Isa. vi. 9, 10. Matt. xiii. 13.

^f Jer. vii. 25.

^g 2 Esdr. ix. 31. [We must not be astonished to find sentences from the apocryphal writings thus quoted occasionally, as if possessed of Scriptural authority. They had been too long invested with the sacredness of the canonical character to be at once laid completely aside. Even those, like JEWELL, who most strenuously contended for the utter rejection of the false claims of these books to the authority of inspiration, when their attention was directed to the subject; were nevertheless likely to mingle them (as in the present instance) with the true Scriptures, when quoting by memory. They had learned them together, and could not always separate them at the moment of their recollection to the mind.]

^h 1 Sam. xv. 26.

say we are wise, and the law of the LORD is with us? They have rejected the word of the LORD, and what wisdom is in them?"ⁱ Again, "Unto whom shall I speak, and admonish, that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken; behold, the word of the LORD is unto them as a reproach, they have no delight in it. I will cause a plague to come upon this people, even the fruit of their own imaginations; because they have not taken heed unto my words, nor to my law, but cast it off."^k

After this sort doth God show the cause why his word taketh not place in us—because we are wilful, and will not hear it, nor let the fruit thereof appear, but reject it, and make it a reproach, and cast it away from us: and therefore it is that the LORD doth cast us away; that we are unwise; that we please ourselves with our own devices, and follow our own imaginations, and perish, because we have not understanding, to hear the instruction of the LORD's word, but like ignorant men disallow it, and cast it behind the back.

The consideration thereof moveth me to say somewhat of the HOLY SCRIPTURES, which are the bright sun of GOD; which bring light unto our ways, and comfort to all parts of our life, and salvation to our souls; in which is made known unto us our estate, and the mercy of God in CHRIST our Saviour witnessed.

That we may the better see the path which we have to walk in; my meaning is, truly, and plainly, and shortly, to show you,

What authority and majesty the word of God beareth;

Then, What profit we may reap by it; also, how needful it is, that we be well instructed in the Holy Scriptures; and what pleasure and delectation a Christian conscience may find in them;

And lastly, Whether they be dark and doubtful, or plain and easy for your understanding:

That when we know the majesty and authority of the Word, and what comfort and profit God giveth us by it, we deprive not ourselves thereof by our unthankfulness, nor close up our eyes that we see it not; but hear it in

ⁱ Jer. viii. 9.

^k Jer. vi. 10.

reverence and in fear, that it may be fruitful in us, and we receive it not in vain.

I. *The Scriptures are the word of God.* What else can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority, than to say 'The Lord hath spoken' by them? that they "came not by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST?"¹

At the word of proclamation of an earthly prince we stand up and vail our bonnets,² and give good heed to it. We are bound so to do; it is our duty. Such honour belongeth to the powers that are placed to rule over us: for 'they are ordained of God; and whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.'³

If we should have a revelation, and hear an angel speak unto us, how careful would we be to mark, and remember, and be able to declare the words of the angel!

Yet is an angel but a glorious creature, and not God. And what is a king? Great and mighty, yet mortal and subject to death: his breath departeth, and his name shall perish. Both he and his word, his power and his puissance, shall have an end. But the word of the Gospel is not as the word of an earthly prince. It is of more majesty than the word of an angel. The apostle saith, "If the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?"⁴ God saith, by the prophet Isaiah: "My word shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."⁵ And the same prophet saith: "The word of God shall stand for ever."⁶ And "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail," saith our Saviour: for it is the word of the living and almighty God, of the God of Hosts, which hath done whatsoever pleased him both in heaven and in earth.

¹ 2 Pet. i. 21.

² [Take off our hats; in token of respect.]

³ Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

⁴ Heb. ii. 2, 3.

⁵ Isa. lv. 11.

⁶ Isa. xl. 8.

⁷ Lu. xvi. 17.

⁸ Ps. cxv. 3. cxxxiv. 6.

By this word he maketh his will known. "I have not spoken of myself," saith CHRIST; "but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak."¹ And again, "If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin."² — "No man hath seen God at any time."³ He is invisible, no eye can reach unto him. "The only begotten SON, which is in the bosom of the FATHER, he hath declared him:"⁴ he hath showed us "the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need:"⁵ he hath disclosed unto us the will of his Father:⁶ he hath left unto us, and ordained that we should hear, his holy word.

This word the angels and blessed spirits used when they came down from heaven to speak unto the people. When they came to the blessed Virgin, and to Joseph, and to others, they spake as it was written in the Prophets, and in the Scriptures of God: they thought not their own authority sufficient, but they took credit to their saying, and authority to their message, out of the word of God.

This word the Prophets vouched and alleged to the people. Albeit they were sanctified in their mothers' womb;⁷ albeit God had endued them with his heavenly Spirit; although a seraphim came unto one of them and touched his mouth with a hot coal;⁸ albeit he saw the LORD sitting upon a high throne;⁹ yet they would not speak as of themselves, but only in the name of the LORD: for thus they used to say, "The LORD hath spoken;" "This is the word of the LORD;" "Hear what the LORD saith." Saint Paul, albeit he was taken up into the third heaven, and into paradise, and heard words that are not lawful for man to utter,¹⁰ yet he wrote not his own words to the Churches of Rome, of Corinth, and Thessalonica, and of other places, but delivered them that which he had received, and taught them according to the Scriptures.¹¹

¹ John xii. 49.² John i. 18.³ Isa. xlix. 1. Jer. i. 5. Luke i. 15.⁴ Isa. vi. 1.⁵ John xv. 22.⁶ Heb. iv. 16.⁷ 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.⁸ John i. 18.⁹ John vi. 39, 40.¹⁰ Isa. vi. 6.¹¹ 1 Cor. xv. 3.

This word is the true manna ; it is the bread which came down from heaven ;^a it is the key of the kingdom of heaven ; it is the savour of life unto life ;^f it is the power of God unto salvation.^g In it God sheweth unto us his might, his wisdom, and his glory. By it he will be known of us. By it he will be honoured of his creatures. Whatsoever truth is brought unto us contrary to the word of God, it is not truth, but falsehood and error.^h Whatsoever honour done unto God, disagreeeth from the honour required by his word, it is not honour unto God, but blasphemy.ⁱ As CHRIST saith, "In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."^k By Isaiah God saith : "Who hath required this at your hand?"^l And by Jeremiah, "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices : but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people ; and walk ye in all the ways which I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."^m Again, "What is the chaff to the wheat ? saith the LORD :"ⁿ ' what are your dreams to be weighed with the truth of God ? Search the Scriptures : in them ye shall learn to know me, and how you should worship me ; in them ye shall find everlasting life.' "The words of the LORD are pure words, as silver tried in the furnace ;"^o there is no filth nor dross remaining in them : they are the storehouse of wisdom, and of the knowledge of God ; in respect whereof all the wisdom of this world is but vain and foolish.

Numa Pompilius, king of the Romans ; Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmon ; and Minos, king of Crete, were wise men, and of great government ; they devised laws to rule the people, and bare them in hand that they were taught by revelation, that so their ordinances might win the more credit, and be established for ever.

^a John v. 31—58.

^g Rom. i. 16. 2 Tim. iii. 15.

ⁱ Col. ii. 23.

^l Isa. i. 12.

^m Jer. xxxiii. 28.

^f 2 Cor. ii. 16.

^h Gal. i. 8, 9.

^k Matt. xv. 9. from Isa. xxix. 13.

ⁿ Jer. vii. 22, 23.

^o Ps. xii. 6.

But where are they now ? Where is Numa, Minos, or Lycurgus ? Where be their books ? What is become of their laws ?

They were unwise, and had no knowledge nor understanding of God ; they and their laws are dead, and their names forgotten. But the law of God came from heaven indeed. God wrote it with his finger ; it is the fountain of all wisdom ; and therefore it shall continue for ever, and never have an end.

Here let us behold the great power and work of God. When Moses received the law, God himself came down in person, with thousand thousands of angels : the air was darkened at his presence ; the mount stood all covered with fire ; the earth shook ; the heavens thundered ;^p the people stood afar off, and fled for fear, and said unto Moses, " Speak thou with us and we will hear ; but let not God speak with us, lest we die."^q This was the first proclaiming and publishing of the law ; such force and credit God gave to his word, and warranted himself to be the LORD.

Since that time, so many thousand years are already passed. In the meantime, the people of Israel were oppressed by tyrants ; were spoiled, and chased out of their country ; first, by Nebuchadnezzar into Babylon ; after that, by Antiochus into Syria ; and lastly, were as vagabonds driven from country to country. Their city Jerusalem was sacked ; their houses overthrown ; their temple razed, and not a stone left upon a stone ; their library destroyed ; their books burned ; the tabernacle lost ; the covenant broken : no vision, no revelation, no comfort for the people left ; nor prophet, nor priest, nor any to speak in the name of the LORD.

In those times of decays, of sackings, of darkness, and of misery, what was done with the word of God ? It was wickedly burnt by Jehoiakim, king of Juda : and Antiochus burnt the books of the law, and cut them in pieces ;^r no man durst be known to have them, and avouch the having : so thought they utterly to deface the glory of God, and abolish all remembrance of his laws. Then came the Pharisees : they drowned the

^p Ex. xix.
^r Jer. xxxvi.

^q Ex. xx. 19.
^r 1 Book of Maccabees i.

word of God with their traditions;† they took away the key of knowledge, and entered not in themselves, but forbade them that came in." After them came heretics; they denied some one part, and some another part of Scripture. They razed, blotted, corrupted, and altered the word of God: of the word of God they made it their own word; or, which is worse, they made it the word of the devil.

By the space of so many thousand years, the word of God passed by so many dangers of tyrants, of Pharisees, of heretics, of fire, and of sword, and yet continueth and standeth until this day, without altering or changing one letter.‡ This was a wonderful work of God, that having so many and so great enemies, and passing through so many and so great dangers, it yet continueth still, without adding or altering of any one sentence, or word, or letter. No creature was able to do this, it was God's work. He preserved it, that no tyrant should consume it, no tradition choke it; no heretic maliciously should corrupt it. For his name's sake, and for the elect's sake, he would not suffer it to perish; for in it God hath ordained a blessing for his people, and by it he maketh covenant with them for life everlasting. Tyrants, and Pharisees, and heretics, and the enemies of the cross of CHRIST, have an end; but the word of God hath no end. No force shall be able to decay it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.¶ Cities shall fall; kingdoms shall come to nothing; empires shall fade away as the smoke; but the truth of

† Mark vii. 13.

‡ Luke xi. 52.

¶ [It was the current opinion in the days of JEWELL, even among the most learned men, that the original text of the Scriptures, of both the Old and New Testaments, had not undergone the most trifling alteration, from the lapse of time, or in the process of transcription. The closer attention to every thing relative to the word of God which the Reformation introduced soon removed this error; and before the middle of the seventeenth century few hesitated to acknowledge what the learned Erasmus had discovered in the beginning of the sixteenth—that the integrity of revelation depended not on the infallibility of human copyists, but, while not one jot or tittle of its substance should pass away, the vehicles by which it is conveyed from generation to generation might be equally susceptible of injury and corruption as any other kind of records.—See Note 1 on page 280 of the *Standard Works*, Vol. I.]

¶ Matt. xvi. 18.

the LORD shall continue for ever.* Burn it, it will rise again : kill it, it will live again : cut it down by the root, it will spring again. "There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the LORD."†

Let us behold the nations and kingdoms which sometime professed CHRIST, and are now heathenish ; Illyricum, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and others.

Again, let us behold such kingdoms and countries, which were in times past heathenish, and knew not God ; as England, Ireland, Rome, Scotland, and divers others. They were all without the Gospel, without CHRIST, without God, and without hope of life.* They worshipped idols, even the work of their own hands :^a to them they appointed priests for their service, days and places for the people to resort together to worship them. Here in England, Paul's church in London was the temple of Diana ;^b Peter's church in Westminster was the temple of Apollo. In Rome, they had the temple of the great god Jupiter,^c and in Florence the temple of Mars ; and in other places they had temples dedicated to other idols.—Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Diana, were unclean spirits and filthy devils :^d yet gave they thanks to them for their peace and prosperity, prayed to them in war and in misery, and commended unto them their wives, their children, themselves, the safe keeping and custody of their souls. They built gorgeous churches and chapels ; set up images of silver and gold to them ; prayed, lifted up their hands, did sacrifice, and offered up their children to them—a horrible thing to say, yet true it is—the darkness of those times was such, that men slew their own children,

* 1 Pet. i. 25.

† Prov. xxi. 30.

^b Eph. ii. 12.

^a Isa. ii. 8. &c.

^b [The proofs of this curious fact are collected and examined by JORTIN in his *Life of Erasmus*, Vol. II. p. 327—329. 8vo. 1808.]

^c [Jupiter Capitolinus, the tutelar idol of the city ; whose temple, as the name implies, was within the Capitol.]

^d [Such was the prevailing opinion in JEWELL's day, and it is capable of support by arguments of no mean value ; although other hypotheses as to the origin and character of the heathen gods have been advanced and maintained with great plausibility, and are at the present day far more generally received than this. The question is closely connected with that concerning the true nature of the heathen Oracles, on which see Note ^b, page 142.]

and offered them up to idols. They said, 'Great is Jupiter,' 'Great is Apollo,' and 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.'^c 'These are the gods of our fathers; our fathers trusted in them; they made us, and have defended us, and have given us victory against our enemies.'^f Whosoever denied them were thought worthy to die.

Thus were the kings, and the princes, and the people persuaded, and so continued they by the space of some thousand years, without controlment or contradiction. They had great props of antiquity, universality, and consent—antiquity of all times; universality of all places; consent of all people.^g So strongly and so mightily were they founded! Who would think such a religion, so ancient, and so universal, and so defended by common consent, should ever possibly be removed?

But when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his word,^h and all was changed. Errors fell down, and truth stood up. Men forsook their idols, and went to God. The kings, and priests, and people were changed: the temples, and sacrifices, and prayers were changed: men's eyes and hearts were changed; they forsook their gods, their kings, their priests; they forsook their antiquity, customs, consent, their fathers, and themselves.

What power was able to work these things? What emperor by force ever prevailed so much? What strength could ever shake down so mighty idols from their seat? What hand of man could subdue and conquer the whole world and make such mighty nations confess they had done amiss? This did the Lord bring

^c Acts xix. 28.

^f [Such is the strong argument of the Heathen, as invariably represented in the writings of the early Apologists for Christianity. Compare especially MINUCHI FELICIS *Octavius*, cap. vi. vii.]

^g [JEWELL here glances, without doubt, at the misapplication of the famous rule of VINCENTIUS LIRINENSIS (See *Standard Works*, Vol. I. p. 76.) to the support of the pretensions of the Romish Church, in opposition to the claims advanced by Protestants in behalf of the Scriptures. See the detection of the Romish fallacy in the use of this rule, by FABER, in Note *, page 230.—JEWELL here refutes it by the *argumentum ad absurdum*; showing that the very same fallacy would have maintained Paganism against Christianity:—it was older, more widely extended, and more generally received—but then, it was not from the beginning.]

^h Gal. iv. 4.

to pass by the power of his word and the breath of his mouth.¹ This was it that "led captivity captive,"² and threw down "every high thing that exalted itself against the knowledge of God,"³ and brought all powers under subjection unto the Lord.⁴ It is the image, the power, the arm, the sword, and the glory of God. It is mighty, of great force and virtue, of authority and majesty, because it is the word of God; therefore the glory thereof is great.

II. Now let us stand afar off, and humble ourselves, and in reverence and fear learn to take the *fruit and comfort* of the same; for so is the will of God, that we may be partakers of his glory.⁵

But where shall we find entrance into this matter? And how shall we be able to come a-land? For this is the sea, and the depth of all the works, of the judgments, and mercies, and of the kingdom of God. This is a sea that hath no shore, a pit that hath no bottom. The Holy Scriptures are the mercy seat; the registry of the mysteries of God; our charter for the life to come; the holy place in which God showeth himself to the people; the Mount Sion where God hath appointed to dwell for ever. The more comfort in them, so much the more greedily let us desire them; the more heavenly and glorious they are, with so much the more reverence let us come unto them.

For consideration of this matter of the fruit and comfort which God worketh by his word, what may we better call to mind than that is recorded by St. Paul? "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope."⁶

All that is written in the word of God, is not written for angels, or archangels, or heavenly spirits; but for the sons of men, for *us*, and for *our* instruction; that by them we may receive strength and comfort in all adversities, and have hope of the life to come. It is the word of God: God openeth his mouth and speaketh

¹ Zech. iv. 6.

² 2 Cor. x. 5.

³ 2 Pet. i. 3, 4.

⁴ Ephes. iv. 8.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 24. Ephes. i. 21. Col. ii. 15.

⁶ Rom. xv. 4.

to us, to guide us into all truth,^p to make us full and ready in all good works, that we may be perfect men in CHRIST JESUS, so rooted and grounded in him,^q that we be not moved to and fro with every tempest.^r

The profit which the word of God bringeth shall best appear, if we first take a view of our estate; what we are, in what place we stand, and what enemies make force against us.

We are the sons of Adam, stubborn children, the children of vanity and of wrath; the children of those fathers which forsook God, and have erred in their hearts, and were deceived. God which created man, and breathed into him the breath of life, saith, "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth."^s Such are we, even by the judgment of God, and his judgment faileth not. What error, what idol, what wickedness ever hath been heard, which hath not been forged and wrought in the heart of man? We can neither do, nor speak, nor think, the thing that is good: our understanding is heavy, our will froward, our eyes blind, and our heart unclean. We go astray through this world as lost sheep, every man after his own way.^t Even as a leaf is carried up and down with a blast of wind, so easily we are driven into error; in ourselves we find no stay, no succour, nor help. Such are we, and so weak of ourselves.

But where are we? In the world. And what is the world? Some think it to be a place full of all delights and pleasures—a goodly, strong, and gorgeous palace, and a paradise of joy. Let no man deceive us, nay, rather let us not deceive ourselves: the world is a shop of vanities, it is a dungeon of darkness, a pot full of poison, a ship full of leaks, a way full of snares; it

^p John xvi. 13.

^q 2 Tim. iii. 17. Eph. iv. 13.

^r Eph. iii. 17. Col. ii. 7.

^s Eph. iv. 14.

^t Gen. vi. 5. [The form of the declaration is altered by JEWELL, in his quotation: what he makes a *general* assertion, extending to the whole race at all times, is in the Bible a historical statement relative to that portion only of the race, which was destroyed by the flood:—"and God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of his heart was only evil continually." Other passages abundantly prove the depravity of our nature: (See *Standard Works*, Vol. II. p. 225—236)—this is hardly applicable to that purpose.]

^u Isa. liii. 6.

blindeth our eyes, beguileth our senses, and helpeth us forward into all dangers. We are blind ourselves, and the place wherein we are is nothing else but darkness.

Whereunto may I resemble our case? Jeremiah the prophet was cast into a dungeon: there he sat without light, and without comfort.^v His case was miserable, and the place loathsome: yet he knew where he was, he knew what he lacked; he cried unto the Lord, and was delivered.—Daniel was cast into the den of lions, there to be torn in pieces and devoured: but he saw his misery, and the danger in which he stood; he saw the lions, the paws which should gripe him, and the teeth which should tear him.^w His case was miserable, yet is ours more miserable. We are in the deep dungeon of hell, and think we are in safety: we are in the midst of darkness; and think it to be light: we are compassed with lions, with dragons, and with scorpions, yet think not of our misery.—Who hath not heard the story of Jonah? Jonah was in a whale's belly. The place was very dark, the waves beat on every side; he was drowned, yet touched no water; he was swallowed up, yet not consumed; he lived without any sense of life; the fish was death, the sea was death, and the tempest was death: yet he died not, but lived in the midst of death; he could not see, he could not hear, he knew not to whom he might call for help; he was taken and carried away, he knew not whither.^x Let us mark well this story; it is a true pattern of our estate, and sheweth what our life is in this world. We are beset with like dangers: we are driven with tempests: we are drowned in like floods: we live in the midst of horrible darkness: we are carried we know not whither.

The philosopher telleth us, truth and falsehood are neigh neighbours, and dwell one by the other; the utter

^v Jer. xxxviii.

^w Dan. vi.

^x Jonah ii.

^y [This title was not unfrequently given to the poet Virgil in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. JEWELL'S reference is to the celebrated passage of the Sixth book of the *Æneid* :—

"Sunt geminæ somni portæ," &c.

"Two gates the silent courts of sleep adorn,

That of pale ivory, this of lucid horn.

Through this, true visions take their airy way,

Through that, false phantoms mount the realms of day."

PITT'S *Æneid*.]

porch of the one is like the porch of the other; yet their way is contrary; the one leadeth to life, the other leadeth to death; they differ little to the show, save that oftentimes the door of falsehood is fair, painted, graven, and beautifully adorned; but the door or forefront of truth is plain and homely. Thereby it happeneth that men be deceived—they mistake the door, and go into error's house, when they seek for truth. They call evil good, falsehood truth, and darkness light; they forsake that is good, deny the truth, and love not the light. This moved St. Paul to say of his brethren the Jews, "I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge:"^a they have the care and fear of God; they are zealous in their doings; they have devotion; they pretend conscience; they think they do well, and that they please God. "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."^a They knew not what they did: for if they had had knowledge, they would never have crucified the LORD of glory.^b But they know not the truth of God: they know not God: they are carried away in the vanity of their own heart: their prayers are no prayers: the truth they hold is falsehood: their faith is no faith: they are sheep without a shepherd. Thus we have heard what we are, and in what place.

Now let us see what enemies bend their force against us. We fight against the gates of hell, with the devil, the prince of darkness, the father of lies:^c with the devil, which hath power over the children of disobedience,^d by whose malice death came into the world. Even that devil bendeth his force against us, which deceived Adam in paradise; which hath deceived the learned philosophers, and beguiled the princes, and wise men, and the worthies of the world; which doth abuse and entice our hands, our eyes, our learning, our wit, and our own heart to deceive us. He rampeth as a lion, and rangeth over the world, seeking whom he may devour.^e This is his delight and study. He hath been a murderer from the beginning.^f

^a Rom. x. 2.

^c John viii. 44.

^f John viii. 44.

^a Rom. i. 22.

^d Eph. ii. 2.

^b 1 Cor. ii. 8.

^e 1 Pet. v. 8.

If this were ever true at any time, our times have found it most true. We are they "upon whom the ends of the world are come."^e Now is this Scripture fulfilled in our ears. Now see we the days whereof CHRIST warned his disciples so earnestly:^b "They shall say, Lo! here is CHRIST, and there is CHRIST:"^c this is the truth, that is the truth. "There shall arise false CHRISTs, and false prophets, and shall deceive many;" they shall betray the truth. "Many shall be offended by them; if it were possible, the very elect"—they whose names are written in the book of life—should be deceived. "And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened."^k "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light." The sun is the word of God, the moon signifieth the Church.^l "The powers of heaven shall be shaken."^m "All the tribes of the earth shall mourn."ⁿ "The abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place. Let him that readeth, understand."^o This is "the mystery of iniquity," of which St. Paul speaketh to

^e 1 Cor. x. 11. [In its *true* interpretation, this passage is legitimately applied by JEWELL; since it properly pertains to *all Christians*, who live in the 'last of the dispensations'—the meaning which it was doubtless the intention of the apostle to convey in the words quoted. But as JEWELL probably understood it, in its most literal signification, the passage is both misinterpreted, and misapplied. See next note.]

^b [It was a very prevalent error among the reformers that their own times were those immediately preceding the consummation of all things, and that the restoration of decayed religion which they were the instruments of Providence to bring about, was the final restoration which all prophecy conspires to represent as coming 'before the end.'—It is not strange, therefore, that JEWELL should fall in with this opinion, and wrest, as in this paragraph he evidently does, the predictions of our Saviour from their proper object, to apply them to the circumstances of his own day.—See Note ^b on page 123.]

^c Matt. xxiv. 23 ss.

^k Matt. xxiv. 22.

^l [In this interpretation JEWELL was by no means singular. It had been regularly handed down from a period at least as ancient as the fifth century. Yet it would be difficult to find for it more solid Scriptural support than there is for the famous allegory of Innocent III., who contended that the *sun* was the *spiritual* or *papal* power, the *moon* that of *temporal* princes!—In prophetic language, the darkening of the sun, moon and stars, is used to figure the overthrow of states and kingdoms. Comp. Isa. xiii. 10. xxxiv. 4, 5. Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8. &c.]

^m Matt. xxiv. 29.

ⁿ Matt. xxiv. 30.

^o Matt. xxiv. 15.

the Thessalonians,^p which worketh among them that perish.^q Thus are we forewarned. God hath given us his word to advise us, that we be not cast away unawares.

They that walk in the dark know not whither they go.^r "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."^s He that is ignorant shall not be known: CHRIST shall say unto him, "I know you not; depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."^t "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched."^u

In this case, what shall a godly-disposed simple man do? How shall he settle himself? To which side may he safely join himself? If he make reckoning of virtue and godly life, there be virtuous men and of godly life on both sides: if he make reckoning of zeal, either side is zealous in the religion they hold: if he make reckoning of the name of the Church, they take it as well to the one side as to the other: if he make reckoning of the multitude, there are many on either side; but neither side hath so many as hath the Turk. Whither then may a man turn himself; and to which side may he safely join? In this case we find the comfort and profit of the word of God. In this case, St. Paul telleth us, "whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning;"^v to lighten our eyes, to resolve our doubts, and to guide our feet. This light God hath kindled in his mercy, to "lighten them that sit in darkness."^w Except he had left a spark of this light we had perished, and become like Sodom and Gomorrah.^x

David saith, "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths:"^y by it I may see the way which is before me; by it I can escape from danger, and by it I can keep the path wherein I ought to walk. When CHRIST perceived that the Capernites and the Jews misliked his doctrines, and went back and walked no more with him, he said to the twelve, "Will ye also go away?" you are my disciples, whom I have chosen out of the world, will you also go away? Simon Peter

^p 2 Thess. ii. 7.

^q John xii. 35.

^r Matt. xxv. 12, 41.

^s Rom. xv. 4.

^t Isa. i. 9.

^u 2 Thess. ii. 8.

^v Matt. xv. 14.

^w Mark ix. 44, 46, 48.

^x Luke i. 79.

^y Ps. cxix. 105.

answered him, "LORD, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life:"^a if we forsake thee, who shall instruct us? Thy word is the word of eternal life.

With this word CHRIST confounded the Scribes and Pharisees, and put them to silence. "Ye reject," saith he, "the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, *Corban*, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free."^a—With this word he confounded them, for misusing of the temple by buying and selling: "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves."^b—With this word he put them to silence, and confounded their error, in that they thought it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every fault: "From the beginning it was not so."^c—With this word he confounded the devil, and chased him from him: "It is written, Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." And again: "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the LORD thy God." And again: "It is written, Thou shalt worship the LORD thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."^d

This word confounded the Arians, and all sects of heretics. What is become of Marcion, of Nestorius, of Valentinus, of Menander, of Sabellius, of Eutyches, and others? They are blown away as smoke before the wind: the word of God hath confounded them, and beat them away. As Dagon fell, and brake his hands and neck, and could not stand in the presence of the ark of the LORD; even so shall all falsehood fall and hide itself in the presence of the truth of God. As the rod of Moses devoured the rods of the charmers; as the beams of the sun drive away and consume darkness; so shall the word of God chase away errors.

^a John vi. 67, 68.

^a Mark vii. 9—11.

^b Matt. xxi. 13.

^c Matt. xix. 8.

^d Matt. iv. 4. 7. 10.

^e 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

^f Exod. vii. 10. 12.

When the two disciples walked by the way with CHRIST, they said between themselves, after their eyes were opened, that they knew him: "Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?"^c his words did possess all our senses; this talk was not like common talk; we felt it forcible in us as the word of God.

Israel heard Peter declare unto them at Jerusalem by proof of the Scriptures, that CHRIST was come; they were not able to resist the word of God, but "were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?"^d we acknowledge our error; the words which you speak are most true: they are the words of life: teach us and instruct us what we shall do.—They felt the force of it, and yielded unto it: they did acknowledge it was the word of God.

St. Augustine, after he had continued long in error, and withdrawn himself into a secret place, where he might make his prayer, and bewail his ignorance, heard a voice say unto him, 'Take up and read, take up and read.' And he forthwith took up the epistles of St. Paul and opened them, and secretly read the chapter which he first lighted on, even these words: "Not in rioting and drunkenness; not in chambering and wantonness; not in strife and envying: but put ye on the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof."^e—"I would read no further," saith he, "for I needed not. For when I had read to the end of this sentence, all the darkness of doubtfulness vanished away, as if some clear light of security were poured into my heart. It was as if it had been said, O man, acknowledge thy misery; thou art naked, cover thy filthiness; put upon thee JESUS CHRIST. And forthwith I felt a fire within me: my heart was lightened: the scales fell from my eyes, I was able to see."^f Thus he was comforted and stayed by this, the word of God.

This profit of the word St. CYPRIAN declareth: "If we return to the head and the beginning of the LORD's

^c Luke xxiv. 32.

^d Acts ii. 37.

^e Rom. xiii. 14.

^f AUGUSTINI *Confess.* Lib. VIII. Cap. xii.

traditions, all error of man must needs give place."¹—THEOPHYLACT, writing upon these words in the Gospel by St. John, "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber,"² saith: "He entereth not in by the door, that is, by the Scriptures: for he doth not use the Scriptures nor the Prophets as witnesses. For indeed the Scriptures are the door by which we are brought to God, and they suffer not the wolves to come in: they keep off heretics, that we may be in safety; and they teach us the reason of any thing, wherein we would be instructed: therefore he is a thief which entereth not into the sheepfold by the Scriptures. And by the Scriptures it appeareth he is a thief that climbeth up another way; that is, maketh himself another way, a way which was not known, nor beaten: such an one shall Antichrist be."³ What greater profit?—they bring us to God, teach us the truth, and give us reason of all things; they keep us in safety, suffer not wolves to devour us, keep off heretics, bewray [detect] a thief, and make known who is Antichrist.—Therefore, upon the Gospel by St. Luke, he expoundeth these words, "Let your lights be burning;"⁴ that is, "Have not your being in the darkness, and be ye not void of judgment; but take unto you the light of God's word, which will teach you what things you should do, and what things you ought not to do."⁵

And as the word of God is the light to direct us, and to bewray errors, so it is also the standard and beam to try the weights of truth and falsehood. CHRYSOSTOM, writing upon the twenty-fourth of Matthew, sheweth it were impossible for a man to stay himself, and find out which is the true Church, but by the word of God. "For it could not be tried by working of miracles, because the gift of working miracles is taken away; and such false miracles as carry some show, are rather to be found among false Christians: nor yet by their

¹ "Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat omnis error humanus." CYPR. *ad Pompeium*.

² John x. 1.

³ THEOPHYLACT. *Comm. in Joan.*

⁴ Luke xii. 35.

⁵ THEOPHYLACT. *Comm. in Luc.*

conversation and life, because Christians live either as ill or worse than heretics. There can be no trial of true Christianity; and Christians which desire to know the truth, whereupon they may build their faith, have no other refuge, but to try and learn this by the Scriptures. For," saith he, "heretics have the counterfeit and likeness of those things which are proper to CHRIST: they have churches; they have the Scriptures of God; they have baptism; they have the Lord's Supper; and all other things like the true Church: yea, they have CHRIST himself. He therefore that will know which is the true Church of CHRIST, how may he know it, but by the Scriptures? Therefore our LORD, knowing that there should be such confusion of things in the latter days, commandeth that Christians, which live in the profession of Christian faith, and are desirous to settle themselves upon a sure ground of faith, should go to no other thing, but to the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they had regard to other things, they should be offended and perish, and not understand which is the true Church."

The master of a ship, when he is on the main sea, casteth his eye always upon the load-star [the pole-star], and so directeth and guideth his ways. Even so must we, which are passengers and strangers in this world, ever settle our eyes to behold the word of God: so shall no tempest over-blow us; so shall we be guided without danger; so shall we safely arrive in the haven of our rest. The prophet David therefore saith, "Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and seek him with the whole heart. Their faces shall not be ashamed, they shall not be confounded, which have respect unto his commandments." "Blessed is the man, whose delight is in the law of the LORD, and in his law doth exercise himself day and night." "The law of the LORD is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the LORD is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple."

This is the rule of our faith. Without this, our faith is but a fantasy, and no faith; for "faith cometh by

^a [This word is here used in an obsolete sense, to signify the 'exact representation,'—literally 'the impression left by a seal or stamp.']

^r CHRYSOST. in *Op. Imperfect.* Hom. 49.

^a Ps. cxix. 2. 6.

^r Ps. i. 2.

^a Ps. xix. 7.

hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”^v Therefore CHRIST saith, “Search the Scriptures; they are they that testify of me:”^w there shall ye find testimony of my doctrine; there shall ye know what is the will of my heavenly Father, and there shall ye receive the comfort for everlasting life. Again: “He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.—If a man keep my word, he shall know the truth—he shall never see death.”^x Therefore Baruch saith, “O Israel, we are blessed, for the things that are acceptable unto God are declared unto us:”^y this is thy blessedness; herein hath God showed his favour unto thee; he hath revealed the secrets of his will unto thee, and hath put his word in thy mouth. “He showed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel: he hath not dealt so with every^z nation, neither have they known his judgments.”^a

Therefore the prophet David teacheth us to pray unto God for the knowledge of his word. “Show me thy ways, O LORD, and teach me thy paths:”^b “take not thy holy Spirit from me;”^c “and incline my heart unto thy testimonies. Give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments. Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.”^d And, “Lighten my eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death;”^e that I may discern between safety and danger, that I may know truth to be truth, and error to be error.

Thus I have declared part of that profit which groweth to us by the word of God. But it doth not only direct our judgment *in the trial* of truth, but also doth graft in us a boldness and constancy *in the defence* of truth.

Solomon saith, “A fool changeth as the moon:”^f

^v Rom. x. 17. ^w John v. 39. ^x John viii. 12. 31. 51.

^y Baruch iv. 4. [See Note ^g, page 262.]

^z [So JEWELL, probably following an old version. The Prayer Book, (or Bishop's Bible,) and Authorized Version, read ‘any.’]

^a Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20.

^b Ps. xxv. 4.

^c Ps. li. 11.

^d Ps. cxix. 36. 73. 18.

^e Ps. xiii. 3.

^f [JEWELL's memory deceived him, in making this quotation; it is not only from the Apocrypha, but from a book never attributed to Solomon.—Ecclesi. xxvii. 11.]

he is always unstable and inconstant; he knoweth not what to do, nor what to believe; he is sometimes full, and sometimes empty, and turneth and changeth as the moon; he buildeth and layeth his foundation upon the sand, therefore his house falleth to the ground; he halteth on both sides, sometimes he worshippeth God, and sometimes he worshippeth Baal; he is neither hot nor cold; he ebbeth and floweth like the waves of the sea; he doubteth and staggereth, and resteth in nothing; he knoweth not the truth, he knoweth not that the Scriptures are the word of God, so he wandereth in the dark, and knoweth not the way in which he walketh; he hath no feeling, no heart, no understanding; he is unfaithful towards God, and keepeth no faith towards man; he is wavering in all his ways." And why? Because he knoweth not the will of God, nor hath the light of his word to guide his feet.

But a wise man is one and steadfast as the sun. He buildeth his house on a rock,^a and that rock is JESUS CHRIST,^o the SON OF GOD. Therefore his house is never shaken down: be the storm or tempest never so rough, yet it shall stand fast like mount Sion, because his trust is in the name of the LORD.^p He knoweth that his name is written in the book of life; he knoweth that he belongeth to the LORD's sheepfold, and that no man can take him away out of the LORD's hand.^q

In this boldness David saith: "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." And again, "The LORD is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?" And again: "Except thy law had been my delights, I should then have perished in mine affliction."—When Hezekiah heard the proud message of Sennacherib sent to him and his people by Rabshakeh, that they should not obey Hezekiah, nor trust in him when he said, "The LORD will deliver you;" and, "Let not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest;"—he went

^a Matt. vii. 26, 27.

^b James i. 6.

^c Matt. vii. 24, 25.

^d John x. 16. 27—29.

^e Ps. cxix. 92.

^f 1 Kings xviii. 21.

^g John xii. 35.

^h 1 Cor. x. 4. iii. 11.

ⁱ Ps. xxiii. 4.

^j Rev. iii. 15, 16.

^k James i. 8.

^l Ps. cxlv. 1.

^m Ps. xxvii. 1.

up into the house of the LORD, and prayed unto the LORD," to save him and his people out of their hands, "that all the kingdoms of the earth might know that he is God alone."^u—Even so the apostle, "Whether we live or die, we are the LORD's."^v And in this boldness our Saviour CHRIST settled himself to bear their reproaches, and to carry his cross. "Father, if thou be willing, take away this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done."^w—Thus they that are taught by the word of God to put their trust in the LORD, and are thereby rooted and settled in him, cannot be removed by any practice of Satan, but stand fast and continue for ever.

Which shall more plainly appear, if we look back into the times of persecution, and behold the boldness and constancy of the saints of God. They were brought before magistrates, cast into prison, spoiled of their goods, cruelly murdered; some were hanged upon gibbets, some run through with swords, some torn with wild horses, some drowned in the water, and some burnt in the fire. They were hated of all men for the name of CHRIST; they were despised as the filth of the world, and dung of the earth; yet continued they faithful until death, therefore God gave them a crown of glory.^x When they were called before kings and princes, and others of authority, and commanded to forsake the truth they had learned, and the comfort which they took in the truth, they answered in this manner: 'O my gracious Lord, I would fain do your commandment; I am your subject; I have done faithful service with my body and with my goods, but I cannot serve you against God. He is King of kings, and Lord of lords; he is my Lord, before whom I stand; I have put my life in his hands; he hath forbidden me to do this thing which you command, I cannot therefore do it. Judge uprightly whether it be meet to obey you rather than God. My living, my wife, my children, and my life, are dear unto me: I am a man like others, and have my affections; yet neither living, nor wife, nor children, nor my life, is so dear unto me as the glory of God. I am but a

^u 2 Kings xix. 9—19.

^w Luke xxii. 42.

^v Rom. xiv. 8.

^x Heb. xi. 34—40.

'poor worm, yet I am the work of his hands. God hath
 'put his word in my mouth : I may not deny it ; I may
 'not bear false witness against the LORD. My life is not
 'dear unto me in respect of the truth. I know if I should
 'deny him to save my life, I should lose it ; and if I lose
 'my life for his sake, I shall find it. That which your
 'authority shall lay upon me is not done without his
 'will : all the hairs of my head are numbered. I owe
 'you obedience ; I will not resist your power ; for if I
 'should resist, I should resist the ordinance of God.
 'I am subject to you for conscience sake ; I will forsake
 'my country, my goods, my children, and myself, at your
 'commandment ; I will say to mine own flesh, I know
 'thee not ; only I cannot forsake my LORD GOD. Dear
 'sir, you fight not against me. Alas ! what am I ! what
 'can I do ? You fight against God, against the MOST
 'HOLY, against Him which can command your life to
 'go out of your body. It is a hard thing for you to
 'kick against the spur. It is no hard matter for you to
 'kill me ; for so mighty a prince to kill so wretched a
 'worm : but this I declare to you, that my blood which
 'you shed is innocent, and shall be required at your
 'hands. It may please God to give unto you repentance,
 'and the knowledge of the truth. If my blood may soften
 'your heart, it could never be spent in a better cause :
 'blessed be the name of God, which hath made me his
 'instrument for your so happy conversion ! This is the
 'only thing wherein I cannot yield. The LORD hath
 'spoken unto me ; I have heard his voice ; my heart
 'hath felt it ; my conscience knoweth it ; I cannot deny
 'it ; no sword can cut me from it ; no water can drown
 'it ; no fire can burn the love I bear unto it ; there is
 'no creature in heaven or earth, that can carry from me
 'that blessed hope I have conceived by his word.'

So constant is he that hath learned the word of God,
 and hath set his delight upon it, and is through it
 assured of the will of God. Heaven shall shake, the
 earth shall tremble, but the man of God shall stand
 upright. His feet shall not fail ; his heart shall not
 faint ; he shall not be moved. Such a ground, such a
 foundation, such a rock is the word of God ! Blessed
 is the man whose hope is in the name of the LORD !

He shall build upon a sure place : he layeth his foundation upon the corner-stone :^{*} he needeth no army to make him strong ; he needeth no friends to comfort him in adversity ; his strength is within, the gates of hell shall not prevail against him ; his comfort is inwardly within his heart : he speaketh to God, and God to him ; his eyes behold the kingdom, and the power, and the glory of God.

But what say we of *the fathers*, AUGUSTINE, AMBROSE, JEROME, CYPRIAN, &c. ? What shall we think of them ? or what account shall we make of them ? They be *interpreters* of the word of God. They were learned men, and learned fathers ; the instruments of the mercy of God and vessels full of grace : we despise them not ; we read them, we reverence them, and give thanks unto God for them. They were *witnesses* unto the truth : they were worthy pillars and ornaments of the Church of God. Yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them ; we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience ; we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the LORD.

And thus are we taught to esteem of the learned fathers of the Church, by their own judgment—by that which they have written, either for the credit of their own doings, or of the authority which they have thought due to the writings of others.

ST. AUGUSTINE said of the doctors and fathers of his time : “ Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they never so worthy and catholic, as we weigh the canonical Scriptures ; but that, saving the reverence that is due unto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we find that they have thought otherwise than the truth may bear. Such am I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine.”^a Some things I believe, and some

^{*} 1 Cor. iii. 11. Eph. ii. 20.

^a “ Neque quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas canonicas habere debemus : ut nobis non liceat, salva honorificentia quæ eis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare, aut respuere : si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quam veritas habet. Talis sum ego in scriptis aliorum ; tales esse volo intellectores meorum.” AUGUST. *ad Fortunat.* Ep. 111.

things which they write I cannot believe. I weigh them not as the holy and canonical Scriptures.

CYPRIAN was a doctor of the Church, yet he was deceived: JEROME was a doctor of the Church, yet he was deceived: AUGUSTINE was a doctor of the Church, yet he wrote a book of Retractations; he acknowledged that he was deceived. God did therefore give to his Church many doctors, and many learned men, which all should search the truth, and reform one another, wherein they thought him deceived.

ST. AUGUSTINE saith, "Take away from amongst us any of our own books. Let the book of God come amongst us. Hear what CHRIST saith: hearken what the truth speaketh."^b He is the wisdom of his Father; he cannot deceive us. Again, he saith, "Hear this, 'The LORD saith:' hear not this, Donatus saith, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Hilarius, or Ambrose, or Augustine saith."^c All these were learned, most of them were holy: yet, saith AUGUSTINE, we may not yield to that which is said by learned men, but we must yield our full consent and belief to the word of God.

ORIGEN saith, "We must needs call to witness the Holy Scriptures; for our judgments and expositions without those witnesses carry no credit."^d Mark well; our words, and expositions, and constructions, unless they be warranted by the Scriptures, are not enough, they carry not credit.

AUGUSTINE saith, "We offer no wrong to St. Cyprian, when we sever any of his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures."^e Thus speaketh AUGUSTINE, a doctor of the Church, of Cyprian, another doctor of the Church. CYPRIAN was a bishop, a learned father, a holy man, and a martyr of CHRIST: yet saith AUGUSTINE, his word is not the Gospel; his word is not the word of God; there is no wrong done

^b "Auferantur de medio chartæ nostræ: procedat in medio codex DEI. Audi CHRISTUM dicentem: audi veritatem loquentem." AUGUST. in *Ps.* 57.

^c "Audi, Dicit DOMINUS: non, Dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus." AUGUST. *Epist.* 48.

^d In *Hierem.* cap. 1.

^e "Nos nullam Cypriano facimus injuriam, cum ejus qualibet litteras," &c. AUGUST. *cont. Cresc.* c. 29.

to him, though his writings carry not like credit as the Holy Scriptures.

I could show many the like speeches of the ancient fathers, wherein they reverence the Holy Scriptures, as to which only they give consent without gainsaying; which can neither deceive nor be deceived. In this sort did ORIGEN, and AUGUSTINE, and other doctors of the Church speak of themselves, and of theirs, and the writings of others, that we should so read them, and credit them, as they agreed with the word of God. "This kind of writings is to be read, not with a necessity of believing them, but with a liberty to judge of them."^f

St. Paul saith, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."^g Out of which place ST. AUGUSTINE speaketh thus: "Whether it be of CHRIST, or of his Church, or of any thing else whatsoever, pertaining either to our life, or to our faith, I will not say if I myself, but if an angel from heaven shall teach us otherwise than ye have received in the books of the Law, and in the Gospels, hold him accursed."^h

Now to conclude this matter, the same father saith, "The judges or doctors of the Church, as men, are often deceived."ⁱ They are learned, they have pre-eminence in the Church, they are judges, they have the gifts of wisdom and understanding; yet they are often deceived. They are our fathers; but not fathers unto GOD: they are stars, fair, and beautiful, and bright; yet they are not the sun: they bear witness of the light, they are not the light.

CHRIST is the sun of righteousness.* CHRIST is the

^f "Hoc genus literarum, non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate, legendum est." AUGUST. *cont. Faust.* Lib. XII. cap. v.

^g Gal. i. 8.

^h "Sive de CHRISTO, sive de ejus Ecclesia; sive de re quacunque alia, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram; non dicam, si nos, sed si angelus de cælo nobis annuntiaverit præterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis acceperitis, anathema sit." AUGUST. *cont. Lit. Petil.* Lib. III. c. vi.

ⁱ "Ecclesiastici judices, ut homines, plerique falluntur." AUGUST. *cont. Cræc.* Lib. II. cap. ii.

* Mal. iv. 2.

light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world.¹ His word is the word of truth.^m He is the day-spring which hath visited us from on high; he came down from the bosom of his Father; he shall guide our feet into the way of peace.^p Of him God the Father spake, "This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him."^q He is the Lamb without spot.^r Out of his mouth goeth a two-edged sword.^s This is he in whom all the ends of the world shall be blessed:^t hear him; give heed to his saying; embrace his Gospel; believe his word.

Thus much touching the credit and authority which is to be given to the writings of ancient fathers.

St. Paul, speaking of the word of God, saith, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."^u Again: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of CHRIST; for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth."^v ST. BASIL saith, "The Scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that every man may there choose a convenient medicine for his disease."^w There are salves and ointments to cure all maladies. Whosoever cannot be cured by the word of God, his disease is grown desperate, and past cure.

Many think the apostle's speech is hardly true of the whole Scriptures—that *all* and *every* part of the Scripture is profitable. Much is spoken of genealogies and pedigrees, of lepers, of sacrificing goats and oxen, &c. These seem to have little profit in them, but to be vain and idle.—If they show vain in thine eyes, yet hath not the LORD set them down in vain. "The words of the LORD are pure words, as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times."^x There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for thy instruction; there is not one jot, but it

¹ John i. 9.^m John xvii. 17.ⁿ Luke i. 78.^o John i. 18.^p Luke i. 79.^q Matt. xvii. 5.^r John i. 29, 36. 1 Pet. i. 19.^s Rev. i. 16.^t Gen. xii. 3. Acts iii. 25, 26. Gal. iii. 8, 9. Eph. i. 3.^u 2 Tim. iii. 15.^v Rom. i. 16.^w BASIL. *Præf. in Psalm.*^x Ps. xii. 6.

is sealed and signed with the blood of the Lamb. Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vain; there is no idleness, no vanity in the word of God.—Those oxen and goats which were sacrificed, teach thee to kill and sacrifice the uncleanness and filthiness of thy heart: they teach thee, that thou art guilty of death, when thy life must be redeemed by the death of some beast: they lead thee to believe the forgiveness of sins by a more perfect sacrifice, because “it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins.”⁷ That leprosy teacheth thee to know the uncleanness and leprosy of thy soul. Those genealogies and pedigrees lead us to the birth of our Saviour CHRIST.⁸—So that the whole word of God is pure and holy. No word, no letter, no syllable, no point or prick thereof, but is written and preserved for thy sake.

Art thou a king? Read the Scriptures; thou shalt find who hath established thine estate, and what duty thou owest to God. God there telleth thee, “By me kings reign, and princes decree justice.”⁹ I have given thee authority; thou carriest my sword: I have put a crown upon thy head; thou art my servant: walk before me: let thy heart be perfect in my sight.

Art thou a subject? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee to know thy duty. There Paul biddeth thee, “Render tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.”¹⁰ “Be subject not only for wrath, but for

⁷ Heb. x. 4.

⁸ [See the fourth and fifth lectures in JONES' *Lectures on the Figurative Language of the Holy Scripture, and the Interpretation of it from the Scripture itself*—a work of great value. This learned and devout theologian, with his friend and fellow-labourer the pious Bishop HORNE, have gone further than most modern divines in the study and explanation of the analogy between natural and spiritual things. That they are *always* borne out by Scripture and sound reason, it would be difficult to prove. But if their scheme of interpretation be not irrefragable, it is profitable. It is much to say in its behalf, that its advocates have been among the holiest of men—blameless in their lives and conversation, and lovely in their tranquil and triumphant deaths.]

⁹ Prov. viii. 15. [JEWELL evidently considers the personification of wisdom in this chapter, as designed to be understood of the Second Person of the TRINITY.]

¹⁰ Rom. xiii. 7.

conscience' sake."^a "For he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."^d

Art thou a minister? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee thy duty. The prophet saith to thee, "Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions."^e The apostle saith unto thee, "Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season; watch in all things; do the work of an evangelist; make thy ministry fully known."^f Thou shalt give an account for the souls of the people;^g their blood shall be required at thy hands.^h

Art thou a father? Hast thou children? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "If thou hast sons, instruct them."ⁱ Again: "He that teacheth his son, grieveth the enemy, and before his friends he shall rejoice of him. Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his folly; chastise thy child, and be diligent therein, lest his shame grieve thee."^j Eli the prophet, by sparing his wanton children, cast away himself and his children; they were slain, the ark of God was taken, and old Eli fell down and brake his neck.^k

Art thou a child? Hast thou a father? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "Children, obey your parents in the LORD: for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, (which is the first commandment with promise,) that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth."^l And again: "Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the LORD."^m The wise man warneth thee: "The eye that mocketh his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it."ⁿ

Hath God blessed thee in wealth? Art thou rich? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "Be not

^c Rom. xiii. 5.

^d Rom. xiii. 4.

^e Isa. lviii. 1.

^f 2 Tim. iv. 2. 5.

^g Heb. xiii. 7.

^h Ezek. xxxiii. 6. 8.

ⁱ [These are still more remarkable instances of a confusion of the Apocryphal books with the Scriptures, since they are here expressly cited by that designation. The passages quoted are Ecclus. vii. 23. xxx. 2. ss.]

^k 1 Sam. iii. iv.

^l Eph. vi. 1—3.

^m Col. iii. 20.

ⁿ Prov. xxx. 17.

high-minded, and trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, which giveth us richly all things to enjoy."° Again: "Trust not in oppression and robbery: be not vain; if riches increase, set not your heart thereon."p Thou shalt depart and leave them behind thee; they shall forsake thee. Thou shalt die, thou knowest not how soon. Solomon sheweth thee, "Riches profit not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death."q

Art thou poor, and sufferest scarcity in this world? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. Say with Job, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return again."r Learn of Solomon, "Better is little with righteousness, than great revenues without right."s And again, "Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich."t St. Paul saith, "Godliness with contentment is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out."u And again, let him that is poor "labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."v

Art thou a merchant? Usest thou to buy and sell? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "This is the will of God—that no man go beyond or defraud his brother in any matter."w Thou shalt learn, that, "divers weights, and divers measures, are alike abomination unto the LORD, and a false balance is not good."x

Art thou an usurer?—Thy case is hard, yet hear the Scriptures; they will teach thee. God commandeth thee thus: "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury."y Again: "If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him;—thou shalt take no usury of him, or increase;—thou shalt not lend him thy victuals for increase: but thou shalt fear thy God,

° 1 Tim. vi. 17.

r Job i. 21.

s 1 Tim. vi. 6, 7.

t Prov. xx. 10, 23.

p Ps. lxii. 10.

q Prov. xvi. 8.

r Eph. iv. 28.

s Ex. xxii. 25.

t Prov. xi. 4.

u Prov. xxviii. 6.

v 1 Thess. iv. 6.

w

that thy brother may live with thee.”^a And “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.”^a He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.^b

Art thou a fornicator, and livest in adultery? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. “He that committeth fornication,” saith St. Paul, “sinneth against his own body. Know ye not that your body is the temple of the HOLY GHOST. Know ye not that your bodies are the members of CHRIST? Shall I then take the members of CHRIST, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid.”^c—“As He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation,” saith St. Peter.^d The reason is set down by St. Paul: “For this is the will of God, even your sanctification; that ye should abstain from fornication,”^e that ye may be holy both in body and in spirit.^f And, “whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.”^g They shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of CHRIST and of God.

Art thou a servant? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. “Servants, obey in all things them that are your masters, according to the flesh; not with eyeservice as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the LORD, and not unto men.”^h Again: “Please your masters well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity; that ye may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.”ⁱ

Art thou proud? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, “Be not high-minded, but fear.”^k “What hast thou, that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?”^l And “Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.”^m And, “God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.”ⁿ

Art thou in adversity? Read the Scriptures? “Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the LORD delivereth

^a Lev. xxv. 35—37.

^b 1 Cor. vi. 18, 19. 15.

^c 1 Thess. v. 23.

^d Tit. ii. 9, 10.

^e Matt. xi. 29.

^a Matt. vii. 12.

^d 1 Pet. i. 15.

^e Heb. xiii. 4.

^k Rom. xi. 20.

ⁿ James iv. 6.

^b Ps. xv. 5.

^c 1 Thess. iv. 3.

^h Col. iii. 22, 23.

ⁱ 1 Cor. iv. 7.

him out of all.”⁶ And, “He shall call upon me, and I will hear him; yea, I am with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and bring him to honour.”⁷ And St. Peter telleth thee, “The eyes of the LORD are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers.”⁸ God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.”⁹ “The LORD is nigh unto all them that call upon him, yea, all such as call upon him faithfully.”¹⁰

Art thou a sinner? Hast thou offended God? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, “Hate the evil, and love the good.”¹¹ And again: “Flee from evil, and do the thing that is good, and dwell for evermore.”¹² “Arise and go to thy father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.”¹³

Dost thou despair of the mercy of God? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, CHRIST telleth thee, “I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.”¹⁴ Again, “Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.”¹⁵ At what hour soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the LORD.¹⁶ Again, “I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way, and live.”¹⁷ And, “The LORD is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works.”¹⁸

Art thou going out of this life? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee; “I am the resurrection, and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.”¹⁹ Say with St. Paul, ‘CHRIST is to me both in life and in death advantage:—I desire to be loosed, and to be with CHRIST.’²⁰

What should I say more of the Scriptures, how

⁶ Ps. xxxiv. 11.

⁷ 1 Cor. x. 13.

⁸ Ps. xxxvii. 27.

⁹ Matt. xi. 28.

¹⁰ Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

¹¹ Phil. i. 21. 23.

¹² Ps. xci. 15.

¹³ Ps. cxlv. 18.

¹⁴ Luke xv. 18, 19.

¹⁵ Ezek. xviii. 21—23, 27, 28, 30.

¹⁶ Ps. cxlv. 9.

¹⁷ 1 Pet. iii. 12.

¹⁸ Amos v. 15.

¹⁹ Matt. ix. 13.

²⁰ John xi. 25, 26.

profitable and comfortable they be in all cases and parts of our life! In adversity, in prosperity, in life, and in death, they are our especial comfort. If we must fight, they are a sword; if we hunger, they are meat; if we thirst, they are drink; if we have no dwelling-place, they are a house; if we be naked, they are a garment; if we be in darkness, they be light unto our going. They are comfortable to kings, to subjects; to old men, to young men; to man and to wife; to father and to child; to master and to servant; to captain and to soldier; to preacher and people; to the learned, and to the unlearned; to the wise, and to the simple. They are comfortable in peace, in war; in heaviness, in joy; in health and sickness; in abundance, in poverty; in the daytime, in the night season; in the town, in the wilderness; in company, and when thou art alone. For they teach faith, hope, patience, charity, sobriety, humility, righteousness, and all godliness. They teach us to live, and they teach us to die.

Therefore hath Paul said well, *The whole Scripture is profitable*:^d it is full of great comfort; it maketh the man of God absolute and perfect unto all good works; perfect in faith, perfect in hope, perfect in the love of God and of his neighbour; perfect in his life, and perfect in his death. So great, so large and ample, and heavenly, is the profit which we do reap by the word of God.

Now it followeth, that we consider *how necessary and needful it is for us to be guided by the word of God*, in the whole trade of our life.

The word of God is that unto our souls, which our soul is unto our body. As the body dieth when the soul departeth, so the soul of man dieth, when it hath not the knowledge of God. "Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."^e "Behold," saith God, "I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord;"^f their tongue shall wither, their heart shall starve, they

^d 2 Tim. iii. 16.

^e Deut. viii. 3. Matt. iv. 4.

^e 2 Tim. iii. 17.

^f Amos viii. 11.

shall die of hunger; "they shall wander from sea to sea; and from the north even to the east; they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find it."^h "They shall stumble at noon-day, as in the night; they shall grope for the wall like the blind, and truth shall fall in their streets."ⁱ

For how shall they be saved, unless they call on the name of the LORD? "How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? how shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?"^k CHRYSOSTOM therefore saith, "Neither can it be—I say it cannot be, that any man shall attain to salvation, except he be always occupied in spiritual reading." The wise man saith, "Where there is no prophecy, the people decay:"^l when the Scriptures are not opened—when there is none that can edify, and exhort, and comfort the people by the word of God—they must needs perish; for they know not the way in which they should walk; they know not whom to honour, nor upon whose name they should call; they know neither what to believe, nor what to do. "Hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure;"^m and they that are wilful and ignorant, and the children of darkness, go down into it. They become thrall and captives unto Satan; their heart is bound up; they understand nothing; their ears are stopped up, they can hear nothing; their eyes are shut up, they can see nothing;" they are carried away as a prey into hell, because they have not the knowledge of God.ⁿ

So doth CHRIST tell the Sadducees, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God."^p Thus he teacheth, that error is the child of ignorance: 'The cause why you are so deceived, is because you know

^h Amos viii. 12.

ⁱ Isa. lix. 10, 14.

^k Rom. x, 13, 14.

^l [Such was the reading of Prov. xxix. 18, in the old translation, from which JEWELL quotes: relying on that translation, he considers 'prophecy' as applying to the revealed word of God. The present version—'Where there is no vision, the people perish'—seems to require that the declaration should be limited to immediate revelation.]

^m Isa. v. 14.

ⁿ Isa. vi. 9, 10,

^p Ps. ix. 17.

^p Matt. xxii. 29.

not the Scriptures ; you have hated the light, and loved darkness ;^a you have neither known the Father nor me." He that knoweth not the truth of God, knoweth not God.

Herein, in this case, there is no plea of ignorance. Ignorance will not excuse us. CHRYSOSTOM saith, "Thou wilt say, 'I have not heard the Scriptures.' This is no excuse, but a sin." Again he saith, "This is the working of the devil's inspiration ; he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches ; therefore he counselleth us, that it utterly availeth us nothing to hear the laws of God, lest that upon the hearing he may see our doing follow." GREGORY saith, "Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the LORD, be not known of the LORD."^a ORIGEN also giveth reason of this practice of Satan : "Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torment, and a pain above all pains, if they see any man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God's law, and the mysteries and secrets of the Scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils ; in this fire they are tormented, for they are seized^v and possessed of all them that remain in ignorance."^w

Carneades, a philosopher, was wont to say of his master and reader^x Chrysippus, 'If it had not been for Chrysippus, I never had been any body ; he was my master and teacher ; he made me learned ; whatsoever I have, I have it of him.' How much better may we use the like words of the Scripture, and say, 'Unless it were for the word of God, our wisdom were nothing, and our knowledge were nothing. Whatsoever we have, we have it by the word. Without it our prayer were no prayer ; without it our sacraments were no sacraments ; our faith were no faith ; our conscience were no conscience ; our Church were no Church.'

^a John iii. 19, 20.

^x John xvi. 3.

^a CHRYSOST. *Hom.* 17 *ad Heb.*

ⁱ *Id. Hom.* 2 *in Math.*

^v "Qui ea, quæ sunt DOMINI, nesciunt, a DOMINO nesciuntur." GREG. MAG. in *Pastoral.* Lib. I. c. i.

^v [The term is here used in its legal signification—'seized of a thing,' having it actually in possession.]

^w ORIG. *Hom.* 27 *in Num.*

^x [Lecturer.]

Take away the light of the sun, and what remaineth but darkness? Heaven and earth are darkened: no man can see his way, or discern the things about him. Even so, if the word of God be taken away, what remaineth, but miserable confusion and deadly ignorance?

When the Philistines had shorn the hairs of Samson, they fell upon him, took him, bound him, and plucked out his eyes; they danced about him, and made scorn and games of him.⁷ We are Samson; the strength of our hairs is the knowledge of the will of God; it is laid up in our heads, in the highest and principal part of us; if that be shorn off—if we be kept from hearing, reading, and understanding of the word of God—then will error, superstition, and all wickedness, get the upper hand, and fall upon us, and bind us, and pluck out our eyes, and make scorn of us, and utterly destroy us.

When the people of Jerusalem were besieged, and wanted food to eat, they fed on rats and mice, and many unwholesome and filthy things. A woman was driven for want of meat to do a cruel part upon her own child; she took her own babe, which was the fruit of her own body, killed it, cut it in pieces, dressed it, and fed upon it—a loathsome meat, especially for a mother, to eat her own child! But she was driven to it by extremity and hunger; it was so cruel a thing to lack wherewith life might be preserved.—Even so fared it with us and our fathers, after it pleased God to take away his Gospel, and to send a famine of hearing the word of the Lord. We were driven to eat those things which were loathsome and horrible to behold; we were driven to feed upon our own children, even the fantasies and vanities of our own heart. There was no substance in them, they could not feed us.⁸

In this case were the children of Israel, when they grew weary of the word of God, and left the ordinances set down unto them. God had no pleasure in them;

⁷ Judg. xvi.

⁸ [JEWELL refers to the absurd legends which in the guise of books of devotion, and even as a principal part of public worship, had excluded the Scriptures from common use, and even yet continue to usurp their place, in the Church of Rome. See WHITE's *Evidence against Catholicism*, p. 166—202, Am. ed.]

their prayers and sacrifice were not accepted. "The new moons and Sabbaths," saith the LORD, "the calling of assemblies I cannot away with." "Who hath required this at your hand?"^a—In such case were the Scribes and Pharisees, when they forsook to be guided by the word of God, and took away the key of knowledge;^b they fed upon their own devices, they neglected the commandments and will of God, and followed their own traditions;^c therefore CHRIST reproveth them: "Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."^d

Therefore if we seek to know the sacraments of the Church, what they are; if we would be instructed in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of the body and blood of CHRIST; if we would learn to know our Creator, and to put the difference between the Creator and a creature; if we desire to know what this present life is, and what is that life which is to come; if we would believe in God, and call upon the name of God, and do worship unto God; if we would be settled in perfect zeal and true knowledge; if we would have an upright conscience towards God; if we would know which is the true Church of God; it is very needful that we hear the word of God. There is no other word that teacheth us unto salvation.^e

Now it remaineth we speak of *the delectation and pleasure which the word of God giveth.*

"The word of God is full of sad [serious] and grave counsel; full of the knowledge of God, of examples of virtues, and of correction of vices, of the end of this life, and of the life to come. These are the contents of the word of God. These things,' say you, 'are great and weighty of themselves, there is no vanity or *pleasure* in them.'

They are great and weighty, I grant: and because they are so weighty, they be the more worthy, that we

^a Isa. i. 13. 12.

^d Matt. xv. 7, 8, 9.

^b Luke xi. 52.

^c 1 Tim. iii. 15.

^e Matt. xv. 3.

hear them. But we must take a delight, and settle our fancy that it may like of the weight and greatness. They were unto the prophet David, "more sweet than honey and the honey comb."^r If we taste them with such affection as he did, we should feel and see the great, and weighty, and heavenly flame which is in them.

Many are delighted in the stories of Julius Cæsar, of Alexander the Great, of mighty and victorious princes; they have pleasure to read of their wars, of their victories, and of their triumphs: and many take their pleasure in travel to far countries, to see the divers fashions and behaviour of men. If it were possible we might stand upon such a hill from which we might at once see all parts of the world, the cities and towns, and mountains, and forests, and castles, and gorgeous buildings, and all the kings and princes of the world, in their princely estate; if we might see the variety of the whole world, how some live quietly in peace, others in poverty and misery, some rise, others fall: to see and behold so great variety of things, it cannot be but it would delight us.

Such a hill, from whence we may take views of so great variety—such a story, in which we may read of noble princes, of their wars and victories, is the word of God. Upon this hill you may at once behold all the works of his hands—how he made heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, the sea and floods, the fishes in the water, the fowls in the air, and the beasts in the field. Upon this hill you may stand and see his angels, and his archangels, and blessed spirits; how some of them fell, and some continued in glory; how God hath sent them in message; how they have come down from heaven to serve the sons of men. Here you may read of the wars of the God of Hosts—how he hath pitched his tents in the midst of his people, and hath gone before them, and fought for them; how the Amorites and Canaanites were rooted out; how the Amalekites were overthrown by the lifting up of Moses' hands in prayer; how the wall of Jericho fell down flat at the sound of a trumpet, and the shouting of the people;

^r Ps. xix. 10.

and how one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians were slain in one night by the hand of one angel, when God raught [reached] out his hand from heaven to give victory to his people. Here you may see how God plagued and overcame his enemies; how he drowned Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and his horses, and men, and chariots, all together. Here you may see Nebuchadnezzar, a mighty prince, so bereft of his wits, that he forsook his palaces, and the company and order of men, and lived in the fields after the manner of beasts. Here may you see how God struck king Antiochus and king Herod with filthy diseases, and caused lice to eat their flesh; how he sent down fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins; how he made the earth open, and swallow up Dathan and Abiram; how king Uzziah was stricken with leprosy, and carried from the temple, and cut off from his kingdom.—What stories of any princes or people in any age can report unto us so strange battles, so mighty conquests, so wonderful deliverance in extremities, so dreadful subduing of the enemies, as the hand of God has wrought, and the story of the Scriptures declared unto us?

This word also sheweth the goodness and mercy of God towards the people which put their trust in him: how he made them terrible to their enemies; how he made their enemies their footstool; how he led them safe through the Red Sea; how he sent his angel to go before them, and guide them; how he gave them water out of a rock, and rained down bread from heaven; how he brought them into a land that flowed with milk and honey, and sware unto them, that he would be their God, and that they should be his people.

In this word are to be seen wonderful and strange works of God, such as are beyond the course of nature, and pass the reason of man: that the sea parted, and stood on both sides as a high wall; that at the word of Joshua the sun stood still, and went not on his course. Hezekiah spake the word, and required it, and the sun went back ten degrees. At the word of Elias fire came down from heaven to consume his sacrifice. Here you may see an ass open his mouth, and speak, and reprove his master; three servants of God walk in a hot burning

furnace without hurt; Daniel in the den among lions, and not devoured; Peter in the raging sea, and not drowned; lepers cleansed, the lame to go, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the dead to rise out of their graves and live; simple and unlearned men to speak in strange tongues; the devils to go out of the possessed, and to say, 'I know that thou art CHRIST the Son of God.' Here may you see twelve poor silly men, without spear, or sword, or force, make conquest and win the whole world. No power could repress them, no might could withstand them. It is reckoned a great matter for a king or nation to yield submission unto another king or nation. It must therefore be a matter of great wonder to see all kings throw down their maces, and all people to yield, before so few, so simple, so unarmed; and to acknowledge they embraced lies, and lived in ignorance; and that these twelve are the servants of the Highest; and to see how "God hath chosen the foolish things of this world, to confound the wise; and the weak things of this world, to confound the things which are mighty."^a Such force did God give to their words! He made them the 'sons of thunder';^b they shook the foundation of the world; they threw down whatsoever stood against them.

Here you may see the fight of God's elect children: how they patiently suffered afflictions in their bodies, rather than they would deny the truth of God; they gave their backs to the scourge, their necks to the sword, their bodies to the fire. No tyrant, no menacing, no rack, no torment, no sword, no death could remove them from the love of the Gospel which they had received. The more of them were cut down, the more did spring up; the more were killed, the more were left alive. AUGUSTINE saith, "They were bound, and shut up, and racked, and burnt, and yet were increased."^c This is the victory that hath overcome the world. For the LORD answered St. Paul, "My strength is made perfect in weakness."^d It liveth in death; it is made

^a 1 Cor. i. 27.

^b Mark iii. 17.

^c "Ligabantur, includebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, et multiplicabantur." AUGUST. *de Civitat. Dei*, Lib. XXII. c. vi.

^d 2 Cor. xii. 9.

whole and sound by wounds and stripes ; it is increased by those means whereby men destroy it.

Jacob saw a ladder stand upon the earth, and the top of it reach up into heaven, and the angels of God go up and down by it.¹ This was but a dream and vision in his sleep ; yet when he awoke, he took pleasure and comfort of this vision.—We have not only the delight of this with Jacob, but we have other far greater visions. We see Isaiah beholding the LORD as he sat upon a high throne ;^m we see Paul taken up into the third heavens ;ⁿ we see the glory of God appear, and hear the voice which came out of the cloud, saying, “This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased ; hear ye him.”^o We see JESUS CHRIST, the SON OF GOD, born of a virgin, and how “he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men ; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.”^p We hear him cry with a loud voice, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?”^q We hear him say, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do ?”^r and, “Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.”—Here we may see the sun to be darkened, that the moon giveth no light ; the earth to shake, the rocks to cleave asunder, the vail to rend, the graves to open, and CHRIST rise from the dead, and go up into heaven, and sit at the right hand of his Father.—Here we may see the overthrow of Babylon, which “made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication ;”^s how she is destroyed with the breath of God’s mouth. Here we behold the resurrection of the dead, and four and twenty elders sit before God on their seats, and the Ancient of days sit upon his throne, and the judgment-seat, and the books opened, and all flesh appear before him ; and how some are taken into everlasting life, and some are sent into everlasting death.

What tongue is able to express those pleasures and

¹ Gen. xxviii. 12, ss.

^o Matt. xvii. 5.

^r Luke xxiii. 34.

^m Isa. vi.

^p Phil. ii. 7, 8.

^s Luke xxiii. 46.

ⁿ 2 Cor. xii. 2—4.

^q Matt. xxvii. 46.

^t Rev. xiv. 8.

delights which are laid open to us in the word of God? We buy images, and pictures, and maps of men, and divers things and countries; but what map or picture can show us the like variety and change of things?—We purchase lands, and have liking so to do. Here we are taught how we may come to that land, which shall stand with us, and in which we shall continue, for ever.

To see *any one* of these, it were great pleasure—either the creation of heaven and earth; or the angels and archangels, and blessed spirits; or the battles of the God of Sabaoth; or Amalek dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel; or the walls of Jericho blown down with the sound of a trumpet; or Pharaoh drowned in the sea; or Nebuchadnezzar eating grass among the beasts; or Antiochus smitten from heaven; or Sodom and Gomorrah burned with fire and brimstone; or the earth to open and swallow up the wicked; or the sea to stand like a wall; or water to come out of a stone; or bread to come from heaven; or the sun to stand still, or to change his course; or an ass to speak, and teach his master; or fire to be extreme hot, yet not burning; or lions hungry, yet not eating their meat; or the sea tempestuous, yet not drowning; or blind to see, deaf to hear, dumb to speak, dead to rise; or ignorant men to speak in languages they never learned; or the devil to roar, and confess CHRIST; or God sitting in his majesty, and CHRIST at his right hand; or Babylon thrown down, and become a tabernacle of foul spirits, and a den for the devil; or CHRIST to sit in judgment, and give sentence upon the quick and the dead:—to see *any one* of all these wondrous works of God, it were great pleasure. How can it be then, but that we rejoice and take delight to see so many, so great, so marvellous, so heavenly, and so glorious wonders in one heap all together?

How far would we ride or go, to see the triumph of a mortal king! Here is to be seen the triumph of God, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings: how he made the name of his Son triumph over principalities and powers, and over the whole world.*

* Col. ii. 15.

Here is a paradise full of delights ; no tongue is able to speak them, they are so many ; no heart is able to conceive them, they be so great.

Here is a shop wherein is set out the wisdom, and knowledge, the power, the judgments, and mercies of God : which way soever we look, we see the works of his hands ; his works of creation, and preservation of all things ; his works of severe justice upon the wicked, and of gracious redemption to the believer.

If we desire pleasant music, or excellent harmony—it speaketh unto us the words of the Father, and the consent of the Son ; the excellent reports of the prophets, apostles, angels, and saints of God, who have been all taught by the HOLY GHOST.

If we would learn—it is a school ; it “ giveth understanding to the simple.”^v In it there is that may content the heart, the ear, the eye, the taste, and the smelling. It is a “ savour of life unto life.”^v “ O taste, and see how gracious the LORD is,” saith the prophet David.^x So manifold and marvellous are the pleasures which are given us in the word of GOD ! God hath made them, and wrought them all for the sons of men—

Thus have I performed promise, and simply and homely opened those four things which I took in hand. I have declared what *weight and majesty* the word beareth ; what huge harvest of *profit* we may reap by it ; how *needful* it is for us travelling through the wilderness of this life ; and what *repast* and *pleasure* we may find in it.

III. But all this notwithstanding, some take exception, and say : ‘ The Scriptures are dark and doubtful ; the ‘ matters are deep ; the words are hard ; few persons ‘ can understand them. One taketh them in this sense, ‘ another in a sense clean contrary. The best learned ‘ cannot agree about them ; they are the occasion of ‘ many great quarrels. John seeth this book sealed ‘ with seven seals, and an angel preaching’ with a loud ‘ voice, “ Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose

^v Ps. cxix. 130.

^x Ps. xxxiv. 8.

^v 2 Cor. ii. 16.

^v [See note a, page 9.]

‘the seals thereof?’ No man can open it, no man can read it.’ St. Peter saith, among the epistles of Paul “are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.”^a And St. Paul saith, God dwelleth “in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.”^b Therefore, although the majesty be never so weighty—the profit, the necessity, and the pleasure, never so great—yet it is not good for the people to read them. Pearls must not be cast before swine, nor the bread of children unto dogs.’ Thus they say.

Indeed the word of God is *pearls*, but the people are not *swine*. ‘They may not read them,’ say some; ‘they are not able to wield them: the Scriptures are not for the people.’ Hereof I will say something; and a word or two of the *reverence and fear*, with which we ought to come to the hearing of them.

They say the Scriptures are hard, and above the reach of the people. So said the Pelagian heretic, Julian, whom St. AUGUSTINE therefore reproveth: “Ye enlarge and lay out with many words, how hard a matter the knowledge of the Scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men.”^c You say, ‘The Scriptures are hard, who may open them? There is no evidence or trial to be taken by them; they are fit only for a few learned men; they are in no wise fit for the people.’ Thus said Julian, a heretic. But God himself, and the ancient fathers of the Church, said otherwise. God saith: “This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.”^d—thou needest

^a Rev. v. 2, 3.

^b 2 Pet. iii. 16.

^c 1 Tim. vi. 16.

^d “Exaggeras quam sit difficilis paucisque conveniens eruditia, sanctarum cognitio literarum.” AUGUST. *Cont. Julian. Lib. V. c. i.*

^e Deut. xxx. 11—14.

not run hither and thither, nor wander over the sea, nor beat thy brains in searching what thou shouldest do, or by what means thou mayest live uprightly; the word and commandment of God will teach thee sufficiently. The prophet David saith, "The commandment of the LORD is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes:"* and, "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths:"† thy word is not dark, it is a light unto my path, it giveth light unto the eyes.—What is clear, if the light be dark? Or what can he see, which cannot see the light?

Human knowledge is dark and uncertain: philosophy is dark; astrology is dark; and geometry is dark. The professors thereof oftentimes run a-muck; they lose themselves, and wander they know not whither; they seek the depth and bottom of natural causes, the change of the elements, the impressions in the air, the causes of the rainbow, of blazing stars, of thunder and lightning, of the trembling and shaking of the earth, the motions of the planets, the proportion and the influence of the celestial bodies; they measure the compass of heaven, and count the number of the stars; they go down, and search the mines in the bowels of the earth; they rip up the secrets of the sea.‡ The knowledge of

* Ps. xix. 8.

† Ps. cxix. 105.

‡ [On most of these subjects of inquiry, vast accessions to the stores of human knowledge have been made since the days of JEWELL. Among his own acquaintance, a mind was then maturing, which should discover the key to unlock these secrets of nature. The son of the fair and accomplished translator of the *Apology*, the illustrious BACON, did more perhaps than any other man before or since, towards removing the veil that hung over the physical operations of Providence. A mere schoolboy now knows more of 'the depth and bottom of natural causes' than the wisest philosophers of JEWELL's age.]

Yet with all the advancement of science which the inductive philosophy has occasioned, our author's complaint of the 'darkness and uncertainty of human knowledge' still holds good. The improvements of successive ages upon the sciences and arts received from their predecessors, have been so far from lessening the range of inquiry and the number of obstacles to perfect knowledge, that every new discovery has opened some fresh field of investigation, some new problem to be solved, some ulterior improvement to be made. The wonderful advances of the past and present age in physical science have only multiplied the instances in which we are compelled to confess our ignorance, and own that 'known to God'—and to God alone—'are all his works', in their true essences, relations, causes, and effects.]

these things is hard: it is uncertain: few are able to reach it: it is not fit for every man to understand it.

But the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD, like a good teacher, applieth himself to the dulness of our wits: he leadeth not us by the unknown places of the earth, nor by the air, nor by the clouds; he astonisheth not our spirits with natural vanities; he "writeth his law in our hearts;"^a he teacheth us to know him and his CHRIST; he "teacheth us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world;" he teacheth us to "look for the blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour JESUS CHRIST."¹ This matter is good, and it is plain: the words are plain, and the utterance is plain.

CHRYSOSTOM saith, "Therefore hath the grace of the HOLY SPIRIT disposed and tempered them so, that publicans, and fishers, and tentmakers, shepherds, and the apostles, and simple men, and unlearned, might be saved by these books; that none of the simpler sort might make excuse by the hardness of them; and that such things as are spoken might be easy for all men to look on; that the labouring man, and the servant, the widow-woman, and whosoever is unlearned, may take some good, when they are read. For they whom God ever from the beginning endued with the grace of his Spirit, have not gathered all these things for vain glory, as the Heathen writers use, but for the salvation of the hearers."²

Some things in the Scriptures are hard:—I deny it not. It is very expedient that somewhat should be covered, to make us more diligent in reading, more desirous to understand, more fervent in prayer, more willing to ask the judgment of others, and to presume the less of our own judgment.¹ GREGORY saith, "The hardship which is in the word of God is very profitable; for it causeth a man to take that profit by pains, which he could not take with negligence. If the understanding

^a Jer. xxxi. 33.

¹ Tit. ii. 12, 13.

² CHRYSOST. *Hom. 3 de Lazaro.*

¹ [See three able sermons on the reasons and uses of the difficulties in Scripture, by ATTERBURY; *Sermons* xxviii., xxix., xxx., Vol. II.]

were open and manifest, it would be little set by."^m CYRIL saith, "All things are plain and straight to them that have found knowledge; but to such as are fools, the most easy places seem hard."ⁿ And again: "Those things which are plain are hard unto heretics; for how can wisdom enter into a wicked heart?"^o

It is true St. Peter hath said, "Some things are hard to be understood." But it is also true, that they which "wrest them unto their own destruction" are "unlearned and unstable:"^p that is, they to whom they are hard, have not their eyes opened, that they may see the light of the word; or they be wicked, and turn the truth of God into lies, and abuse the Scriptures to their own damnation. The howlet seeth not by the brightness of the sun, not because the sunbeams are dark, but for that his eyes are weak, and cannot abide so clear light. It is, therefore, but a pretence and colour for their ignorance, and a means to deceive the people more boldly with their errors, when they charge the word of God with darkness and hardness.

For how many hundred places are there which be as clear as noon-day? God saith, "I am the LORD thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them."^q Again he saith, "That is cursed that is made with hands, both it, and he that made it; he because he made it, and it, because it was called god, being a corruptible thing."^r Again, "Confounded be all they that worship carved images, and that delight in vain gods."^s—This is the word of God. What darkness is in any of these sayings?

God saith, "If thou lend money to any of my people

^m "Magnæ utilitatis est ipsa obscuritas eloquiorum DEI. Facit enim," &c. GREG. MAG. in *Ezech. Hom.* 6. Lib. I.

ⁿ CYRIL. in *Johan.* Lib. IV. c. xiii.

^o Id. *ibid.* in *Johan.* 14.

^p 2 Pet. iii. 16.

^q Exod. xx. 1—4.

^r Wisdom xiv. 8, 9. [JEWELL again inadvertently quotes the Apocrypha as though it were the word of God.]

^s Ps. xcvi. 7.

that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.”¹ Again, “He that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, &c., he shall surely live:”—but he that “hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase, shall he live? He shall not live:”² and, “The wages of sin is death:”³ and, “The soul that sinneth, it shall die.”⁴ And again, “This ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of CHRIST and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.”⁵—These are the words of God; and what darkness is in them?

St. Paul saith, “If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, live peaceably with all men.—Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.—Avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath.”⁶ Again, “Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God.—He is the minister of God to thee for good: but if thou do evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain.”⁷—These be the words of God; what darkness is in them?

St. John saith, CHRIST is “the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world:”⁸ and “The blood of JESUS CHRIST his Son cleanseth us from all sin.”⁹ St. Peter saith, “His own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness.”¹⁰ CHRIST saith, “Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:”¹¹ and again, “Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.”¹² The prophet saith, “Whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be saved.”¹³—These be the words of God; what darkness is in them? What eye so simple, but he may see them?

The ways of the LORD are straight, and his words

¹ Exod. xxii. 25.

² Ezek. xviii. 20.

³ Rom. xiii. 1. 4.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 24.

⁵ Joel ii. 32, Rom. x. 13.

⁶ Ezek. xviii. 8, 13.

⁷ Eph. v. 5, 6.

⁸ John i. 29.

⁹ Matt. vii. 7.

¹⁰ Rom. vi. 23.

¹¹ Rom. xii. 18. 9. 19.

¹² 1 John i. 7.

¹³ Matt. xi. 28.

plain, even unto the simple. CHRYSOSTOM saith, "All things are clear and plain in the Holy Scriptures. Whatsoever things there are necessary for us, are also manifest."⁶ Some things are covered, as men cover precious stones and precious garments—they are covered, and yet we see them; we see them, and yet they are covered: yet all things that are necessary are plain and open. CLEMENT saith, "The word of God is hid from no man: it is a light common unto all men: it is as bright and beautiful as the sun; there is no dungeon or darkness in it."⁷ So saith IRENÆUS: "The Scriptures are plain and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men:"⁸ all men may hear them, even all sorts of men without exception.

Where be they, then, which say it is not lawful for the people to have the word of God, and that the Scriptures are not meet for their reading? They are bread;⁹ they are drink;¹ they nourish unto everlasting life.¹⁰ Great cruelty it is to starve God's people to death. Are they unfit to have the Scriptures because they are poor? CHRIST saith, "The poor receive the glad tidings of the Gospel:"¹¹ and, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:"¹²—they want riches, and worldly glory, but God giveth his fear and grace to them as well as to the rich. Are they unfit to read the Scriptures, because they are not bred up in other learning? St. Paul saith, "I determined not to know any thing among you, save JESUS CHRIST, and him crucified."¹³ The prophet David saith, "Blessed is the man, O LORD, whom thou teachest in thy law."¹⁴ And CHRIST saith, "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed

⁶ CHRYSOST. *Hom. 3 in 2 ad Thess.*

⁷ CLEM. ALEX. *Orat. ad Gentes.*

⁸ "Scripturæ in aperto sunt, et sine ambiguitate; et similiter ab omnibus audiri possent." IREN. *adv. Hær. Lib. I. c. xxxi.*

⁹ John vi. 32. 35. 50. 58.

¹ John iv. 10. 13. vii. 37.

¹⁰ John vi. 27. 51.

¹¹ Luke vii. 22. [The old translation is retained in the text, as quoted by JEWELL; because the common version neither adequately sustains his inference nor represents the full meaning of the original—*εὐαγγελίζονται, they have glad tidings told them.*]

¹² Matt. v. 3.

¹³ 1 Cor. ii. 2.

¹⁴ Ps. xciv. 12.

them unto babes.”^r The apostles were sent “into all the world” to “preach the Gospel unto every creature”^s—to learned and unlearned, to poor and rich. There is no man too poor, none too rich, none too young, none too old. Whosoever hath ears to hear, he hath learning enough to be a hearer.^t As for the wisest and learned men in matters of this world, they have not always proved the readiest and most willing to set forth the glory of God. They have not been the meekest scholars for this school. Who were they that resisted Moses and Aaron, the servants of God? Not the people, but the wisest and best learned in Egypt. Who were they that stood against Elias? Not the people, but the learned and wise men, and the prophets and priests of Baal. Who were they that stoned and killed the prophets? Not the people, but the chiefest and wisest in Israel. Who were they that resisted CHRIST and his Gospel, and sought to deface the glory of God? Not the people, but the Scribes and Pharisees, and high priests, and all the troop of their clergy. They called CHRIST ‘a deceiver,’ and ‘Beelzebub,’ ‘a companion of publicans and harlots;’^u they lay in wait every where to entrap him; they sued him to death. St. Paul saith, for conclusion in this matter, “It is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.—Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen.”^v—Mark, saith he, how mercifully God hath dealt with you.

^r Matt. xi. 25.

^s Mark xvi. 15.

^t Matt. xi. 15. xiii. 9. 43. &c.

^u Matt. xxvii. 67. x. 25. Luke vii. 34.

^v 1 Cor. i. 19—21. 26—28.

Few of the learned sort, few such as are counted wise, embrace the Gospel with you, or join with you in faith, or keep you company. God hath let them be deceived in their wisdom; they take themselves to be wise, and yet are become fools. And contrary to worldly judgment, God hath made you which were weak and simple, and of no reputation, wise and righteous, and sanctified and redeemed in CHRIST JESUS.^w—And CHRIST saith, “Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.”^x

Therefore the godly father CHRYSOSTOM calleth upon the people to read and hear the Scriptures. “Hear me, ye men of the world; get ye the Bible, that most wholesome remedy for the soul; if ye will nothing else, yet at least get the New Testament—St. Paul’s Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts, that they may be your continual and earnest teachers.”^y And again: “Hearken not thereto only here in the church, but also at home; let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talk together of these matters, and both to and fro, let them both inquire, and give their judgments; and would God they would begin this good custom!”^z In like sort saith ORIGEN: “Would God we would all do accordingly as it is written, Search the Scriptures!”^a It were a token that we do love CHRIST. Then would the Father love us; and he and his Father would come unto us, and dwell in us.

CHRYSOSTOM saith, “This is the cause of all ill, that the Scriptures are not known.”^b “To know nothing of God’s love,” saith he in another place, “is the loss of salvation. Ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life; ignorance hath turned all things upside down.”^c ST. JEROME, expounding those words of the apostle, ‘Let the word of CHRIST dwell in you plentifully,’ saith, “Here we are taught, that the lay people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently,

^w 1 Cor. i. 30.

^y CHRYSOST. *Hom. 9 in Ep. ad Coloss.*

^z *Idem*, *Hom. 2 in Joan.*

^a ORIG. *Hom. 2 in Esa.*

^b CHRYSOST. *Hom. 9. in Ep. ad Coloss.*

^c *Idem*, *Hom. 3 de Lazaro.*

^x Matt. xviii. 3.

but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel one another."^d

And now, to conclude what the learned fathers and ancient doctors have said in these matters, THEODORET saith: "Ye may commonly see, that our doctrine is known not only of them that are the doctors of the Church, and the masters of the people, but also even of the tailors, and smiths, and weavers, and of all artificers; yea, and further also, of women, and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and servants, and sewsters, and handmaids; neither only the citizens, but also the country folks do very well understand the same. Ye may find, yea, even the very ditchers, and delvers, and cow-herds, and gardeners, disputing of the Holy TRINITY, and of the creation of all things."^e Thus we see there was a time, before ignorance crept into the Church, and got the upper hand, when the word of God was not counted hard, and dark, and doubtful; when children, and women, and servants, and men of the country, had the knowledge of God, and were able to reason of the works of God. Then went it well with them: they could not easily be deceived, because they had that word which bewrayeth the thief: they carried with them, like good exchangers, the weights and touchstone, and were able to try coins whether they were true or false. Such were the people, such was the state of God's Church, in those days.

Gold, and silver, and lands, and possessions, are the portions of but few: they are not common to all alike: the wise man saith, "Houses and riches are the inheritance of fathers."^f But the word of God, the law and the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the gift of the Spirit, and the knowledge of God, are given unto all men; they are made common for all men. If the word were ordained but for a few, then CHRIST was given unto the world but for a few; the heaven was made but for a few. But the mercy of God is over all, and upon all, and for all.^g All have right to hear the word of God, all have need to know the word of God. "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God."^h

^d Hieron. in 3 cap. *Ep. ad. Coloss.*

^e Theodor. Lib. V. *de Cur. Græcor. Affect.*

^f Prov. xix. 14.

^g Rom. iii. 22. x. 12.

^h Rom. iii. 23.

Therefore CHRIST calleth all : "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden :"¹ young men and old men, men and women, rich and poor, come to me. "God is no respecter of persons."² "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven," saith CHRIST, "that one of these little ones should perish."¹ "Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."³ God "will look to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at his word :"⁴ God will regard such a one, and make him a fit vessel to receive his truth. Upon him that is such an one shall the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God, rest : not only upon the rich, the wise, the learned, but upon him that is poor, and of a contrite heart, and trembleth at his words ; upon him that "humbleth himself under the mighty hand of God ;"⁵ he is the temple and tabernacle of the HOLY GHOST.⁶ He that is humble 'n heart shall be saved ;⁷ "God resisteth the proud and giveth grace unto the humble."⁸

Therefore CHRIST said, "I thank thee, O Father, LORD of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes,"⁹ even to such as have no learning, which rejoice in nothing but in thee. The wise and learned of the world cannot hear them, cannot see them ; but they to whom it pleased thee to give understanding. It is thy mercy. Flesh and blood cannot reach the knowledge of thy will. The SPIRIT of the Father hath revealed it.¹⁰ CHRIST saith, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me ; they will not follow a stranger."¹¹ My people are simple as sheep, they are rude and know not what they do ; yet they know my voice, and follow me ; they know their shepherd from a thief ; they follow not the call and voice of a stranger.—So we see that God chaseth no man away from hearing his word : he loatheth not the poor, because of his poverty : he

¹ Matt. xi. 28.² Acts x. 34.¹ Matt. xviii. 14.³ 1 Tim. ii. 4.² Isa. lxvi. 2.⁵ 1 Pet. v. 6.⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 19. Isa. lvii. 15.⁵ Matt. xi. 25.⁶ Job xxii. 29.⁷ James iv. 6.⁸ 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10.⁹ John x. 3, 4, 5.

refuseth him not ; for he is the God of the poor ; they be his creatures. ST. AUGUSTINE saith, " Almighty God, in the Scriptures, speaketh as a familiar friend, without dissimulation, unto the hearts both of the learned and of the unlearned."† He abaseth himself, and speaketh to their capacity ; for his will is, that all should come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved.

Now let us consider *with what fear and reverence* we ought to come to the hearing or reading of the word of God.

"The angel of the LORD appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush :"[†] when Moses turned aside to see, God said unto him, "Draw not nigh hither : put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."[‡] Again, when God had appointed to speak unto the people from Mount Sinai, he said unto Moses : "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and be ready against the third day ; for the third day the LORD will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai."[§]

The word of the LORD is the bush, out of which issueth a flame of fire. The Scriptures of God are the mount, from which the LORD of Hosts doth show himself. In them God speaketh to us : in them we hear the words of everlasting life. We must be sanctified, and wash our garments, and be ready to hear the LORD. We must strip off all our affections : we must fall down before him with fear : we must know who it is that speaketh ; even God the maker of heaven and earth ; God the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST ; God which shall judge the quick and the dead—before whom all flesh shall appear.

This word is holy. Let us take heed into what hearts we bestow it. Whosoever abaseth it, shall be found guilty of high trespass against the LORD. We may not receive it to blow up our hearts, and wax

† "DEUS in Scripturis quasi amicus familiaris loquitur ad cor doctorum et indoctorum." AUGUST. *Ep. 3 ad Volusianum.*

‡ Exod. iii. 2.

§ Exod. iii. 3, 5.

¶ Exod. xix. 10, 11.

proud with our knowledge. We may not use it to maintain debate and contention. We may not use it to vaunt ourselves, or to make show of our cunning. The word of God teacheth lowliness of mind; it teacheth us to know ourselves. If we learn not humility, we learn nothing. Although we seem to know somewhat, yet know we not in such sort as we ought to know.*

The Scriptures are mysteries of God; let us not be curious; let us not seek to know more than God hath revealed by them. They are the sea of God; let us take heed we be not drowned in them. They are the fire of God; let us take comfort in their heat, and warily take heed they burn us not. They that gaze over-hardly upon the sun, take blemish in their eyesight.

When the people of Israel saw the manna in the desert, they said, *Man-Hu?* What is this? So they reasoned of it when they took it up in their hands, and beheld it. They asked one another what good it would do.—The Scriptures are manna,^b given to us from heaven, to feed us in the desert of this world. Let us take them, and learn one of another what profit may come to us by them: let us know that they are written for our sake, and “for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.”^c They are given us to instruct us in faith, to strengthen us in hope, to open our eyes, and to direct our going.

If we withhold the truth in unrighteousness—if we know our Master’s will, and do it not;^d if the name of God be ill spoken of through us,^e the word of God shall be taken away from us, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof.^f God shall send us strong delusions, that we shall believe lies;^g our own hearts shall condemn us,^h and we shall be beaten with many stripes.ⁱ

“Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to those things which we have heard.”^k We must

^a 1 Cor. viii. 2.

^a Exod. xvi. 15.

^b John vii.

^c Rom. xiv. 4.

^d Luke xii. 47.

^e 2 Pet. ii. 2.

^f Matt. xxi. 43.

^g 2 Thess. ii. 11.

^h 1 John iii. 20. Tit. iii. 11.

ⁱ Luke xii. 47.

^k Heb. ii. 1.

consider them, we must chew the cud: "every beast that cheweth not the cud is unclean,"¹ and not fit for the sacrifice. Let us be poor in spirit, and meek in heart: let us be gentle, as becometh the lambs of CHRIST; and as his sheep, let us hear his voice, and follow him: let us be of a contrite spirit, and tremble at the words of God: let us, when we know God, glorify him as God.²

So shall God look upon us. So shall the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and of counsel, and of knowledge, and of the fear of God, rest upon us. So shall we be made perfect to all good works. So shall we rejoice in his salvation, and "with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST."²

¹ Lev. xi. 26. [This may be regarded as a happy allusion: but surely it is of exceeding little value in confirmation of the argument!]

² Rom. i. 21.

² Rom. xv. 6.

END OF VOL. III.



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ERRATA.

Page 79, line 6 from bottom, read *unleavened*. p. 79, line 5 from bottom,
 read *leavened*. p. 98, l. 6 from bot. read Plotinus. p. 142 l. 10 from bot. read
 season. p. 152, line 10 from bot. read *Idololatry*. p. 160, l. 19 from bot. read
Exu. p. 212, l. 14, read Sirmian. p. 221, l. 9 from bot. read Moses and
 Joshua. p. 226, l. 8 from bot. read 251,—252.



the 1990s, the number of people with a mental health problem has increased by 50% (Mental Health Foundation 1999).

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the needs of people with mental health problems, and the importance of the role of the community. The Department of Health (1999) has identified the need to develop a new approach to mental health care, one that is based on the principles of recovery, empowerment, and self-help. This approach is based on the idea that people with mental health problems can lead a full and meaningful life, and that they should be given the opportunity to do so. The Department of Health (1999) has identified the need to develop a new approach to mental health care, one that is based on the principles of recovery, empowerment, and self-help.

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